

“FOR THAT HOUR HE IS MR HUNK HIMSELF”: MEN’S NARRATIVES OF BUYING

SEX

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HYSMON001

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree.

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ABSTRACT

Despite sex work and its related activities being a criminal offence, it is an ingrained part of South African society. Street based sex workers can be found working on the streets of every city in the country; mainstream magazines feature articles about the sex work industry; newspapers generate an income through advertising sexual services; and there are a number of South African websites aimed exclusively at patrons of the sex work industry (Gardner, 2009). This project, guided by the principles of a narrative research approach, endeavoured to gain insight into the demand side of the sex work industry in South Africa. The project was based on in-depth interviews conducted with 14 male clients of female sex workers, recruited through advertisements placed on online classifieds websites. The study explored the meaning that men make of paying for sex and how being a client both influenced and was influenced by their broader social identities as men, husbands and fathers. The findings of this project repeatedly highlighted the striking connection between dominant discourses of femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality and participants' explanations, motivations and experiences of paying sex workers for sex. These discourses provide men with a vocabulary to talk about paying for sex as acceptable and also allow for a social context where paying for sex becomes not only justifiable but also a desirable option for men. Through recognizing these discourses at work in our daily lives and through destabilising the notion of an idealized masculinity we can begin to better understand the demand side of the sex work industry in South Africa.

Keywords: Sex work, clients, masculinity, heterosexuality, gender

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Chapter One: An Introduction

1.1 Sex Work and the South African Context

This project endeavours to gain some insight into the lives of men who buy sex from female sex workers in South Africa. Despite sex work and its related activities being a criminal offence in the country, it has become an ingrained part of South African society. Street based sex workers, often driven by financial desperation, can be found working on the streets of every city in the country (Gardner, 2009; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). It is also not unusual to see women standing along the entrances to farm roads, waiting for men to drive by and pick them up for sex. Mainstream magazines feature articles about the sex work industry; newspapers and online classified generate an income through advertising sexual services; and there are a number of South African websites aimed exclusively at patrons of the sex work industry (Gardner, 2009).

Sex work in South Africa also takes place against the backdrop of a violent society. South Africa has the highest rate of violence against women in the world; both sexual and physical violence against women is a commonplace occurrence (George & Finberg, 2001; Wechsberg, Luseno, & Lam, 2005). According to South African Police statistics, 191 842 violent (sexual and physical) crimes were committed against women in South Africa for the year 2010/11 alone (South African Police Services, 2012). In reality, the actual incidence is expected to be much higher, as a large proportion of violence against women goes unreported. Thus sex work in South Africa takes place in a context where violence against women is common and where the combination of a growing “supply” of sex workers and a constant demand from clients ensures the continued existence and growth of the industry (Commission for Gender Equality, 2013; Gardner, 2009).

The legal status of sex work is an issue which has been up for debate in South Africa for some years (Gardner, 2009). Up until December 2007, the South African law criminalized only the sex worker while clients remained protected by the law. However, the Sexual Offences amendment act 23 of 2007 now criminalizes both the clients who pay for the sex and sex workers who sell sex (Gardner, 2009). Despite the fact that buyers and sellers of sex are

technically seen as equal in the eyes of the law, policy does not necessarily translate into practice - sex workers are much more likely to be arrested for selling sex than men are for buying sex. The South African Police Services' Annual Crime Situation in South Africa Report 2008/9 reported 428 convictions for selling sex ("tempt, entice, bother or pester with the purpose to commit an immoral or indecent act at a price" and "living of the proceeds of immorality") but only 10 convictions for buying sex (South African Police Services, 2009, p. 8). Thus, although the law appears to treat clients and sex workers equality, these statistics tell a different story. These vast discrepancies should be a cause for concern. However, statistics on sexual offences related to sex work are, since this police report in 2009, no longer published in this report, allowing this incongruity to easily go unnoticed. Moreover, other South African studies on street based sex work further confirm the unequal treatment of the sex worker and client by the legal system (Gould & Fick, 2008; Hakala & Keller, 2011; Halland, 2010; Huysamen, 2011; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001, 2001). These studies suggest that that police very often are the perpetrators of verbal, physical and sexual abuse against sex workers. Thus, although clients and sex workers appear to be treated equally under the law, statistics and research clearly reflect that clients are less stigmatized and more protected by legal structures than sex workers are.

In the years following the implementation of new Sexual Offences Act of 2007 the issue of legalization of sex work has been hotly debated in South Africa, in both legislative and academic arenas. Preparations for the Soccer World Cup, held in South Africa in 2010, then brought this debate into the public arena (Bird & Donaldson, 2009; Halland, 2010). With the predicted influx of foreigners into the country, it was suggested that the legalization of sex work would allow for better control of the industry during this soccer tournament (Bird & Donaldson, 2009). Amongst the most vocal on the issue was, the then South African Chief of Police, Jackie Selebi. He urged the National Assembly's Safety and Security Committee to implement a special temporary concession to legalize sex work for the duration of the 2010 Soccer World Cup (Bird & Donaldson, 2009; Halland, 2010). This suggestion, although highly supported by some members of the public, was met with public concern about how legalizing sex work would compromise the moral fabric of the country, threaten the family unit, and encourage the growth of the sex work industry in South Africa (Bird & Donaldson, 2009; Gardner, 2009; Halland, 2010). It was finally decided that no such temporary concession should be made.

In more recent news, the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) released their official position on sex work in May 2013 (Commission for Gender Equality, 2013). Here they concluded that the current legal system, which criminalizes sex work, has failed sex workers and perpetuated the abuse of their constitutional rights. They thus recommended that the government decriminalize sex work in South Africa. The CGE's position paper was met by opposing views from the two non-profit organizations in Cape Town most active in both providing support services to sex workers and lobbying and advocating for law reform around sex work – SWEAT (Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce) (www.sweat.org.za) and Embrace Dignity (www.embracedignity.org.za). In line with the CGE's position on sex work, SWEAT's primary goal is to achieve a legal status for the adult sex work industry in South Africa (Arnott, 2006). Their submissions were influential in the formulation and outcome of the CGE's position paper (Commission for Gender Equality, 2013). Conversely, Embrace Dignity, an organization which aims to empower women who have chosen to exit sex work, opposes complete legalization of the sex work industry. In direct opposition to the CGE's position, they advocate for law reform that recognizes sex work as exploitation and violence against women. Thus it can be seen that sex work is an extremely controversial and hotly contested issue in South Africa at governmental, organizational and civic levels alike.

1.2 Framing and Defining Sex Work: A Feminist Debate

There also exists a great theoretical debate around the definition and nature of sex work, particularly in feminist academic literature (Monto, 2004). Sex work is a social issue which has been the focus of much feminist research and writing, and also an issue around which feminists are vehemently divided. Second wave feminists have, over the past decades, been divided into two camps: Radical feminists who define sex work as exploitation and liberal feminists who define sex work as work (Outshoorn, 2005). These two main viewpoints will be discussed below.

1.2.1 The liberal feminist approach. The market-orientated approach to sex work taken by liberal feminists defines it as “sex-work”, a vocational choice like any other. It sees sex as a neutral object of exchange, and the act of sex work as a neutral transaction between two consenting and neutral partners, the buyer and the seller (Niemi, 2010, 2010; Sullivan, 1995). Proponents of this view argue that women have been compelled to offer up their bodies in sexual

service to men with no economic gain. Thus sex work is a way of regaining some agency over their bodies (Miriam, 2005; Sullivan, 1995). From a choice perspective, when a woman chooses sex work as a career, it is sexually liberating, and a form of emancipation from previous discrimination against women (Halland, 2010). Thus sex-as-work proponents actively advocate for the legalization of sex work, suggesting that it is a necessary precondition for controlling the industry, improving working conditions and empowering sex workers (Sullivan, 1995) .

1.2.2 The radical feminist approach. In stark contrast to literature based on the views of the liberal feminist ‘sex-as-work’ paradigm is a body of literature (Busch, Fong, & Willianson, 2004; Farley, Baral, Kiremire, & Sezgin, 1998; Farley, Lynne, & Cotton, 2005; Farley, 2006; Jeffreys, 2009) which proposes that sex work is, in essence, always exploitative and harmful to women. Sex work, referred to as prostitution in this discourse, is equated to other forms of violence against women such as domestic violence or sexual abuse. Proponents of this view see sex work from a constraint perspective, suggesting that it not only results from, but also reproduces, the gender, race and class inequalities women face (Dalla, 2000; Jeffreys, 2009; Miller, 2002; Outshoorn, 2005). In support of the constraint perspective, studies have found a history of childhood sexual abuse (Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003a; Dalla, 2000, 2002; Farley et al., 1998, 2005; Halland, 2010; Silbert, 1981; Tutty & Nixon, 2002; Weber, Boivin, Blais, Haley, & Roy, 2004; Wechsberg et al., 2005); financial desperation (Bucardo, 2004; Dalla, 2000, 2002; Halland, 2010; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001) and/or supporting drug addiction (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001; Weber et al., 2004) to be the main antecedents associated with entry into sex work. Because sexuality and the self are so intimately connected, the sex worker is not seen as a mere provider of a consumable product but rather as an inseparable part of the product who is therefore, according to the radical perspective, herself being consumed (Brewis & Linstead, 2000).

The radical feminist perspective highlights the relationship between one’s social identity and one’s sexual behaviour - masculinity and femininity are seen as social identities which are largely confirmed through heterosexual intercourse (Silbert, 1981; Sullivan, 1995). Thus, through the act of purchasing sexual access to women’s bodies, men are seen to be acting out and maintaining their age-old patriarchal identity as masters of the female body (Jeffreys, 2009; Shrage, 1989; Sullivan, 1995). Thus, the radical feminist approach is generally opposed to legalization of sex work as they see it as a public proclamation of men’s sex right and their right

to ownership of women's bodies (Farley, 2004, 2005; Jeffreys, 2009; Miriam, 2005; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Scoular, 2007; Shrage, 1989).

Therefore, it can be seen that these two approaches not only define the act of sex work in opposing ways, but that they also position both sex workers and clients differently. Where the liberal feminist stance positions sex workers as empowered, active social agents, under a radical feminist framework sex workers are positioned as disempowered and exploited. Similarly, where liberal feminists position male clients as neutral business actors, radical feminists position clients as exploitative perpetrators of violence against women.

1.2.3 The third wave feminist approach. Some feminists have begun to challenge the polarized nature of the sex work debate and question whether it really is feasible to describe sex work as either inherently empowering or inherently exploitative (Sullivan, 1995). Third wave feminists have proposed a less essentialist understanding of sex work. Rather than this dichotomized thinking, they suggest that sex work should be seen as a unique and dynamic (and often paradoxical) intersection between choice and constraint (Brewis & Linstead, 2000; Halland, 2010; J. Phoenix, 2000; Weatherall & Priestley, 2001). Third wave feminist approaches largely draw on post-modern theories which view the world through a discursive lens. They tend to reject the notion of an absolute truth, proposing that there are multiple truths and realities. These kinds of feminist approaches suggests that all knowledge is socially constructed and can thus only have meaning within the specific context within which it is embedded (De La Rey, 1997; Mann & Huffman, 2005).

Instead of adding to the heavily polarized debate around what sex work is or is not, and whether it should be legalized or not, this kind of theoretical framework necessitates research which explores the individual's unique truths about and experiences of sex work. It calls for research which explores how sex workers and clients construct and make sense of sex work in relation to their broader contexts and social identities, gender and sexuality. It also calls for research that takes cognisance of the discursive boundaries which offer a limited system of meaning for understanding, constructing and acting in relation to sex work. Progress has been made in conducting this kind of research with female sex workers (e.g. Brewis & Linstead, 2000; Halland, 2010; J. Phoenix, 2000; Weatherall & Priestley, 2001). However, very little of this kind of research has been done with clients. Indeed, we know very little about the subjectivities of

men who buy sex. This research project is thus a response to this gap in the body of knowledge about sex work, both in South Africa and internationally.

1.3 Outline of Thesis

The first chapter has introduced and situated sex work in the South African context. Chapter Two reviews literature pertinent to male clients of female sex workers. The first half of the chapter reviews literature on both masculinities and heterosexuality, focusing on articles written from a discursive, post-structuralist lens. The second half reviews the body of literature on male clients, with an emphasis on qualitative research exploring men's subjective experiences of paying for sex. Chapter Three provides an outline of the research design employed in the research project, providing a detailed introduction to narrative research. The chapter also elaborates on the recruitment process and context, the participants, the data collection and analysis procedures and concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations and limitations of the study. Chapter Four and Five present the findings of this study. Chapter Four reflects on the ways in which the researcher-participant relationship influenced the kinds of narratives which emerged from interviews. It also reports on how participants constructed, explained and justified their identities as clients. Chapter Five identifies the connection between various dominant discourses of femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality and participants' narratives of motivation to pay for sex. Finally, in Chapter Six, the findings of the study are summarised, the contributions of the research project are assessed and recommendations for addressing the demand side of the sex work industry are made. The thesis ends with suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter will provide a review of literature, both international and South African, which is relevant to research on men who pay for sex. Firstly, the chapter will review literature on masculinities and heterosexuality, focusing on articles written as seen through a discursive, post-structuralist lens. The second section of the chapter will then narrow its focus, providing a review of literature on male clients, with an emphasis on qualitative research exploring men's subjective experiences of paying sex workers for sex.

2.1 Men and Masculinities

This research project explores the subjectivities of male clients who buy sex from female sex workers. Thus this project is more than just a study of clients, it is inevitably intersected by issues of masculinity and heterosexuality. The section to follow traces the development of academic work on men and masculinities in South Africa and internationally.

2.1.1 A social constructionist perspective of masculinity. Masculinity has been understood and defined in a number of varying ways throughout academic literature. It is often associated with the male anatomy and seen as biologically determined and inevitable. It has frequently been understood in essentialist terms as being represented by a universal collection of static traits and behaviours (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012). However, in this research project, masculinity is understood and defined from a social constructionist perspective. Social constructionism rests on the premise that reality is socially constructed and that language is an important tool by which we interpret, experience and make sense of the world (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998). It accepts that there may be no single essential truth, but rather that there are multiple truths and realities.

Literature on masculinities written from a social constructionist perspective suggests that masculinity does not hold a universal meaning; it is neither an essence nor a tangible object which can be measured (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Rather people function according to a number of constructions of masculinity, and that masculinity, as a construct, draws on a number of different and changing behaviours, domains, identities, objects and symbols (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Indeed masculinity (and sexuality) is argued to be a cultural construct, bound

up with the political, social and economic structures of the world in which we live (Foucault, 1981; Gilfoyle, Wilson, & Own, 1992). Masculinity can be said to have multiple, ambiguous and often contradictory meanings, which change and shift over time and context. Indeed, numerous authors have called for the study of *masculinities* rather than masculinity (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985; Connell, 1995, 2000; Morrell et al., 2012).

2.1.2 Hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is one kind or version of masculinity. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was first coined in the early 1980's by Raewyn Connell in her extensive Australian research into masculinity. The concept of hegemonic masculinity has since been considerably influential in South African and international scholarly thinking around men and gender and has largely served as a framework for research in this area (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The term hegemonic masculinity denotes a dominant form of masculinity, one which prescribes how men should be within their society. It determines the standards against which other masculinities are defined and subordinated (Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). Thus the concept of hegemonic masculinity calls into focus the intersections between masculinities and power (Connell, 1995; Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). As Carrigan et al. (1985, p. 592) suggest, the concept of hegemonic masculinity is "a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance." The greatest focus within literature on hegemonic masculinity appears to be on how hegemonic masculinities subordinate and delegitimize other non-hegemonic masculinities and how other masculinities suffer under hegemony (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 1995). Morrell et al. (2012) suggest that men's relationships with women seems to have been neglected in literature on hegemonic masculinity.

Authors who write about hegemonic masculinities generally move away from an essentialist conception of masculinity. They suggest that what is hegemonic and dominant is neither universal, nor is it set in stone, but rather that it is dynamic, multifaceted and continuously changing to adapt to the challenges of the time and context (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; A. Phoenix & Frosh, 2001). This literature suggests that there is rarely just one dominant or hegemonic masculinity in any given culture or context (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). As

Carrigan et al. (1985, p. 954) explain, hegemony "always refers to a historical situation, a set of circumstances in which power is won and held". This highlights the importance of studying men and masculinity within the specific context in which they exist.

There is indeed a body of literature which specifically explores African masculinities and the context-specific implications of being a man in South Africa (Baker, Wilson, & Winebarger, 2004; Blackbeard, 2007; Morrell et al., 2012; Morrell, 1994, 1998; Ratele, 2005, 2006, 2008). The idea that there is more than one dominant or hegemonic masculinity in any given culture or context is clearly affirmed by the research into South African masculinities. Morrell (Morrell et al., 2012; Morrell, 1994, 1998), in his work on hegemonic masculinity in the historical context of South Africa, highlights this multiplicity of masculinity in South Africa and demonstrates how these masculinities are largely structured along the lines of race and class. In this body of work Morrell details at least three masculinities which are dominant in South Africa: A white masculinity (based on the political and social dominance of the white ruling class in an Apartheid, and post-Apartheid society); a rurally based "African" masculinity where dominance is maintained and perpetuated through customary laws and culture; and a "black urbanized" masculinity which has emerged out of the geographically separate South African townships, which were also initially established during the Apartheid era. Each of these dominant masculinities is said to have a distinctive set of behaviours and practices that signify dominance within its specific context. As relevant and pertinent as this body of work on South African masculinities is, arguing from a post-structuralist approach, it could be said that dominant South African masculinities cannot just simply be neatly categorised according to distinctive traits and qualities. Rather the various dominant masculinities are likely to both intersect and contradict one another in some ways.

Violence has been the central focus of much work on masculinity in South Africa. Morrell (2012, p. 10) goes as far as to suggest that there has been a "preoccupation with race and violence" in South African literature on masculinities. Indeed, much research draws the link between hegemonic masculinity; the high levels of violence in South Africa and South Africa's turbulent past (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Campbell, 1992; Cock, 2001; Glaser, 1998; Hunter, 2005; Mager, 1998; Morrell, 2001). This literature suggests that violence became part of survival during Apartheid and thus the ideal portrayal of masculinity in South Africa during this period included gun ownership and widespread violence. This culture of violence, pointed to in the

literature, suggests that violence has remained a part of South African masculinity, despite the cessation of the Apartheid regime (Morrell et al., 2012).

Hegemonic masculinities translate into cultural prescriptions of what it means to be a “real” or idealized man in any given society. According to Connell (1995) many men aspire to this ideal regardless of whether they are realistically able to achieve it or not. Although, as discussed above, there is not only one essential conception of the hegemonic man, there are a few characteristics which feature across many cultures. These include characteristics such as being unemotional, aggressive, a provider, independent, tough, competitive, authoritative and powerful (Connell, 1995; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; A. Phoenix & Frosh, 2001). Sexuality and hegemonic masculinity are also closely linked. Across a number of cultures it is accepted that the hegemonic man is highly sexual, but more importantly, the hegemonic man is heterosexual (Connell, 1995; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; A. Phoenix & Frosh, 2001).

2.2 Heterosexuality and Male Sexuality

Heterosexuality is one of the central features of hegemonic masculinity, and the two are argued to be inextricably linked to one another (Carrigan et al., 1985; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; Renold, 2003; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). As Carrigan et al. (1985, p. 593) suggest, “The most important feature of this masculinity, alongside its connection with dominance, is that it is heterosexual”.

Barker and Ricardo (2005), in their detailed investigation into masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa, suggest that the primary criteria for achieving manhood in Africa is some level of financial independence, employment or income, and subsequently starting a heterosexual family. In many African cultures the issue of wealth and marriage are particularly closely linked. Due to the cultural practice of “Labola” men are expected to pay substantial amounts of money to the bride’s family in return for her hand in marriage (Morrell et al., 2012). This notion of men having to “buy or pay for” their wives was clearly reflected in the talk of many of the male participants in Barker and Ricardo’s (2005, p. 5) study and a sense of commodification and ownership of the wife emerged from the data.

In Africa, just as in many other parts of the world, it is expected that men, especially young men, be sexually aggressive, skilled and experienced. Mankayi (2008) in her research into South African soldiers’ constructions of masculinity and sexuality found that, for men, having

large amounts of sex with multiple partners was a way of performing their male sexuality and proving their manhood to themselves and others. Barker and Ricardo (2005) suggest that the tradition of polygamy, practiced within many cultures in Africa, reinforces the assumption that masculinity is expressed through sexual conquests, skill and fertility. Although, in its traditional form, polygamy restricts extra-marital affairs, in some settings the tradition has now become more informally interpreted as a man's right to have as many sexual partners as he wishes. Thus research suggests that, in the African context, cultural norms may reinforce the idea of a woman being purchased and owned by her husband and may condone and encourage men to have multiple sexual partners outside of marriage (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

As a whole, the body of literature which explores how men construct and negotiate their identities as heterosexual men is limited, especially in South Africa where masculinity studies have been preoccupied with race and class (Morrell et al., 2012). Relatively few studies explore how men understand and make sense of their heterosexuality and how they construct heterosexual sex (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). Those studies which do investigate men's constructions of heterosexuality commonly draw on samples consisting of a mixture of both male and female participants.

Hollway (2001) presents the most influential analysis of the discourses on heterosexuality present in our society. She identifies three discourses which she suggests inform people's talk and constructions of heterosexuality and which make available certain gendered subject positions within heterosexual interactions. These three primary discourses are: the male sex-drive discourse; the have/hold discourse and the permissive discourse. In the following section each discourse will briefly be outlined and linked to other relevant research on men's constructions of their heterosexuality.

2.2.1 The male sex-drive discourse. Hollway's notion of the male sex-drive discourse is the most widely recognized of the three discourses within academic literature on the subject of heterosexuality. It accepts, as a truth, that men are biologically predisposed to have a heightened drive for sex. Within this discourse men's sexuality is expected to be urgent, powerful and uncontrollable. The male sex-drive discourse feeds into notions of hegemonic masculinity and is in keeping with the culturally prescribed male gender roles within many cultures. This discourse positions women as objects of men's sex drive, thus allowing men relative dominant subject positions (Gilfoyle et al., 1992).

The male sex-drive discourse appears to be the most instrumental of the three discourses in shaping men's talk and construction of their heterosexuality. It unfailingly emerged in male participants' talk about their (hetero)sexual selves in both South African studies (Mankayi, 2008; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998) and international studies (Crawford, Kippax, & Waldby, 1994; Gavey, McPhillips, & Braun, 1999; Gilfoyle et al., 1992; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). In qualitative interviews with male participants, Mooney-Somers and Ussher (2010) found that male sex-drive discourse was so heavily entrenched in their understanding of their sexuality that many participants did not try to justify or elaborate on why they felt they needed more sex, but rather just accepted this as a given. The authors present a recurrent theme in their data, titled "Just Sex", which can be directly linked to the male sex drive discourse. They report that younger single men in the sample constructed the kind of sex they were interested in having as devoid of any meaning beyond a physical act that satisfied their male sex drive. The kind of sex they constructed as desirable did not signal love or commitment, but rather "just sex". The fact that young men valued this kind of no strings attached sex so highly could perhaps be partially explained by the primary competing heterosexual discourse, the "have/hold" discourse, which attributes a very different system of meaning to sex.

2.2.2 The have/hold discourse. This discourse is centred on the ideals of monogamy, family and partnership, and is closely linked to Christian ideals that propose that sex should take place within a committed relationship between a man and a woman. In this discourse sex is seen as an expression of love and commitment. The woman is constructed as devoid of sex drive; the primary benefit of sex for her is the securing of a committed and supportive relationship with her husband or potential husband (Gilfoyle et al., 1992). Women are seen to engage in sex as a way to "keep" a man. Men are positioned as the objects of this discourse where women have to acquire or "catch" these committed husbands in order for a sexual relationship to be legitimate.

2.2.3 The permissive discourse. Finally, the permissive discourse stands in stark contrast to the have/hold discourse as it challenges the notion that sex should only occur within a monogamous relationship. Rather, it assumes a more laissez-faire approach to sexuality. It suggests that it is the right of both men and women to express their sexuality in any way they choose as long as no one is harmed. Similar to the sex-drive discourse, sex is constructed as something natural that should not be suppressed. However, in this discourse, expression of sexuality and experience of pleasure is not limited to men only. Both men and women are

constructed as having the right to engage in sexual activities for the primary purpose of experiencing pleasure (Hollway, 2001).

When considering these discourses in relationship to one another it is clear that in some ways the sex-drive and have/hold discourses are largely competing: they prescribe contradictory standards for the sexual conduct of men (Hollway, 2001). How do men construct their (hetero) sexuality in the midst of these contradictory systems of meanings that are available to them? The literature suggests that it is the accommodation of both of these discourses that may lead to the double standards in male and female sexuality often found to be present in heterosexual men's talk. Men are expected to express and actively pursue their sexuality by taking up multiple partners, where women are expected to remain monogamous (Hollway, 2001; Mankayi, 2008). Furthermore, literature on the issue suggests that the dissonance between the competing discourses is resolved through the dual construction of women. Women are split into two types, or are seen as having two sides, the wife versus the mistress, or Madonna versus whore (Hollway, 2001; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). The first type of woman is the whore or slut, who is promiscuous and prepared to have sex on the first date. This type of woman is valued only for the casual sex she is prepared to provide. The second type of woman is sexually restrained and seen as more pure. She is the kind of woman suitable to form a meaningful and intimate relationship with and perhaps even marry (Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). Similarly, Bhana and Pattman (2011) in their study of South African township youth's constructions of love, found that the black male youths tended to divide black girls into two categories, farm girls and township girls. Township girls were constructed critically as being money-hungry, image conscious and promiscuous. They were not favoured marriage partners. Conversely, farm girls were constructed as suitable for marriage and were described as un-materialistic, pure and virginal.

The literature suggests that with this dual construction of women, comes the dual construction of sex (Crawford et al., 1994; Gavey et al., 1999; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). These studies reflect how the competing have/hold and male sex-drive discourses lie parallel to one another in male participants' talk. The men in these studies constructed sex as either the no-strings attached "just sex" or as "more than just sex" which occurs in a loving relationship (Crawford et al., 1994; Gavey et al., 1999; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). Participants spoke of how it was necessary to make sure that women understood that the sex they were having was

“just sex” and did not hold any other significance. The obligation for commitment attached to the have/hold discourse may of course shed light on why many men were concerned that their casual “just sex” encounters may be mistaken as a promise of commitment. Men maintained these boundaries either by ensuring that women understood their intentions and the meaning of the sex they were having (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010) or less directly through constructing the woman as a sexual object and avoiding the establishment of a bond or sense of intimacy with her (Crawford et al., 1994; Gavey et al., 1999).

Mooney-Somers and Ussher’s (2010) also found that some men made sense of the dissonance between these two discourses through relying on a developmental life stage conception. The younger men spoke of how there would come a time in their lives when they would want “more than just sex”, that as they grew older there would be an emphasis on intimacy, commitment and mutuality. They suggest that this construction resonates with male sexuality in popular media, such as men’s lifestyle magazines where being single is encouraged for younger men, but is seen to be detrimental to older men. If men get older and continue to resist the inevitable commitment to a woman, they will become (or will be seen by others) as sad, isolated, and desperate (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). Indeed, Seal and Ehrhardt (2003) also found that the younger participants tended to highlight a preference for casual sex where slightly older participants were more likely to value committed relationships and emotional intimacy. Thus this research suggests that men make use of a variety of strategies in order to resolve the dissonance between the two competing discourses of heterosexuality.

Braun, Gavey and McPhillips (2003) suggest that these three discourses remain influential in the construction of ideas and practices of (hetero) sex in the West today. It is clear that these three discourses do not neatly compliment or feed into one another, but are also contradictory. Gilfolyle et al.(1992) suggest that people’s lives and their constructions of self and sexuality are not a product of a single discourse, but rather are a product of multiple discourses which may be adopted simultaneously. As suggested by Berlant and Warner (1998, p. 552) “heterosexuality is not a thing”, it is not a single ideology or practice. Therefore, it may be expected that these contradictions would be reflected through men’s talk on their heterosexual ideals and practices.

2.2.4 Discourse of reciprocity. Heterosexual practice has, of course, been found to be influenced by more than just these three discourses discussed above. Authors such as Gilfolyle

et al.(1992) and Braun, Gavey and McPhillips (2003) have explored, in their qualitative research studies, how a discourse of reciprocity is reflected in both male and female participants' constructions of heterosexuality and heterosexual experience. Gilfoyle et al. (1992) coined the term "pseudo-reciprocal gift discourse". They explain that the reciprocal discourse is founded on the male sex-drive discourse and the presumption that men have sexual urges which need to be satisfied. However, for these urges to be satisfied, women need to relinquish control over their bodies and allow men to penetrate their bodies, essentially "giving" sex to their male partners. In return the man must please his partner by trying to "give" her the gift of an orgasm or pleasure. Thus the reciprocal discourse alludes to the notion that heterosexual sex is based on reciprocity and mutuality. But Gilfoyle et al.(1992) suggest that this is only a pseudo-reciprocity as the woman takes on a position of passivity within the sexual encounter. While men are positioned as active agents who give and take pleasure as they please, women are positioned as passive objects who surrender their bodies to men and have to be given an orgasm by a man. Very seldom were women positioned as instrumental to achieving their own pleasure. Indeed, this notion of a woman surrendering herself to the man in the act of heterosexual sex is clearly reflected in the male participants' talk, language such as "giving herself to me" was common in their narratives (Gilfoyle et al., 1992).

In agreement with Gilfoyle et al. (1992), Moonley-Sommers and Ussher (2010) also highlight issues related to reciprocity and how it is utilized in the negotiation and construction of heterosexual sex. The overarching theme in their research is heterosexual males' commodification of sex and the female body. Male participants in this study spoke in detail about having to gain "access" to women's bodies. Sex was constructed as a tangible commodity which had to be obtained from women, who were positioned as gatekeepers of their bodies, by giving them something in exchange. This study reports on how men construct the "work" they have to do to gain this access. Participants described a specific set of heterosexual performances which included buying drinks, supporting women financially or emotionally, making women feel secure and confident, showing intentions for future emotional and relational commitment, giving compliments and buying flowers and chocolates on Valentines' day or anniversaries. For these men, sex became part of a system of exchange and gaining access to sex meant that they had performed sufficient work to gain access. The commodification of sex was further reflected through men's language as they drew on market related discourse when explaining gaining

access to sex, using terms such as “demand and supply” (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010, p. 362). These findings are interesting in the light of sex work where the commodification of woman’s bodies is assumed to be a function of sex work. But it can be seen here that men, to some extent, already construct sex as a commodity within regular heterosexual interactions. It appears that the commodification of sex by men may be a product of dominant forms of heterosexuality in a patriarchal society as a whole.

What is perhaps most clear from this research is that women were constructed by these men as gatekeepers who had the power to block access to sex. As a direct result of this, participants communicated experiences of powerlessness in relation to women (Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010). Men’s positioning of themselves as powerless differs significantly to Gilfoyle et al.’s (1992) theorizing, which positions women as passive objects within heterosexual encounters.

2.2.5 Intimacy. The issue of intimacy also arises quite regularly in literature on heterosexual sex. For the purpose of this review I will draw on the definition of intimacy used by Sandberg (2011) in her qualitative study exploring the intersection between masculinity, sexuality and old age in a sample of 22 Swedish men. Although intimacy is often used as a euphemism for sex, Sandberg defines intimacy more clearly as a “specific modality of sexuality, which links with relationships, feelings of love, commitment and elements of disclosure...” (2011, p. 15). This conception of intimacy fits well within Hollway’s have/hold discourse outlined previously. Both Berlant and Warner (1998) and Sandberg (2011) argue that intimacy is not merely a neutral and natural concept, but rather is part of the “cultural imaginary” of heterosexuality. Intimacy, they argue, is a discursive resource which gives particular meaning to heterosexual culture. Sandberg (2011) found that the elderly men in her study expressed, with age, a turn towards intimacy within their (hetero) sexual relationships, often foregrounding this over other aspects of sexuality such as penetration and orgasm. Sandberg (2011) suggests that intimacy, as an aspect of heterosexuality, makes sex seem more clean, respectable and justifiable. She postulates that, by highlighting a turn to intimacy, these men distanced themselves from the “dirty old man” conception often associated with male sexuality in old age, thereby aligning themselves with a more acceptable heterosexuality.

It might be assumed that the link between intimacy and sex may be less pronounced amongst young and middle aged adults, where a male sex-drive and permissive discourse could

be assumed to play a more influential role. Gavey et al. (1999) explored young and middle aged adults' understanding of the relationship between sex and intimacy. The findings of their study suggested that penetrative sex was constructed in two very contradictory ways: On the one hand penetrative sex was constructed as the ultimate act of intimacy, and a means to experience a deep connection with one's partner. Conversely, penetrative sex was also constructed, often by the same participants, as an act which could be devoid of all intimacy. Of course these contradictory constructions of the same act make sense in light of the dominant heterosexual discourses which provide contradictory systems of meaning for experiencing and understanding heterosexuality.

One of the most definitive findings of Gavey et al.'s study was men's clear communication that they desired and needed to experience intimacy and a sense of closeness within their sexual relationships. Men's acknowledgement of their need for intimacy seems contradictory to many constructions of the hegemonic male, which position men as lacking emotionality. Indeed, Gavey et al. (1999, p. 52) suggest that "Men's 'need' for emotional intimacy is possibly one of the open secrets of heterosexuality – something that cannot or will not be acknowledged within some representations of masculinity, or which must only be expressed in circumscribed ways". Furthermore, their findings suggest that some male participants saw sex not only as an *expression* of intimacy but as a means of *obtaining* and experiencing a sense of intimacy and closeness. In relationships where intimacy and closeness with a spouse or partner had dissipated (after the birth of a child, for example) some male participants told of how they initiated sex as a means of getting emotionally close to their partners. Gavey et al. (1999, p.52) also suggest that the problem with men's tendency to equate intimacy and sex, using sex to fulfil their need for intimacy, is that it may only allow for an "imaginary form of intimacy" whereby the distanced female partner may comply with this increased demand for sex, but may not feel a part of this moment of intimacy.

In summary, studies on heterosexual men's talk on sexuality most clearly reflect the sex-drive discourse, constructing male sexuality as extensive, powerful, urgent and biological rather than emotional and monogamous. However, it is also clear through the above studies that an undeniable male need for experiences of intimacy and closeness also arises amongst these constructions. Men construct their understanding of women and sex in a similarly contradictory way where women are seen as both Madonna's and/or whores, and sex is constructed as both "just sex" and as "more than just sex". What is certain is that heterosexual sex is not a stable

construction with one specific set of meanings and significations; rather men's constructions thereof are paradoxical and fluid. It is clear that heterosexually, as with other aspects of masculinity, is contradictory, disordered and ever changing. The next section of this chapter will focus on literature pertaining to a very specific subset of heterosexual males, the clients of sex workers.

2.3 Research on Men who Buy Sex

There is a substantial and growing body of research on the issue of sex work, which is primarily centred on the female sex worker. This research explores women's reasons for entry into and barriers to exiting sex work (e.g. Baker, Dalla, & Williamson, 2010; Hakala & Keller, 2011; Halland, 2010; Leggett, 1999; Nadon, Koverola, & Schludermann, 1998; Silbert, 1981; Tutty & Nixon, 2002; Weber et al., 2004; Wechsberg et al., 2005); women's risky sexual practices and the issue of sexually transmitted diseases (e.g. Campbell, 2000; Karim, Karim, Soldan, & Zondi, 1995; Laurent et al., 2003; Marshall, Shannon, Kerr, Zhang, & Wood, 2010; Rusch et al., 2010; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001), the violence women are subjected to in the industry (e.g. Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003b; Farley et al., 1998, 2005; Farley, 2004, 2005; Miller, 2002, 2002; Okal et al., 2011; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Ribeiro & Sacramento, 2005; Wechsberg et al., 2005) and the emotional and physical effects of selling sex (e.g. Farley, 2004; Halland, 2010; Ribeiro & Sacramento, 2005; Sanders, 2004). However, in comparison, there exists relatively little research on the men who buy sex from these women. The voices of the men who buy sex are largely absent from literature on sex work (Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, & Gifford, 1997).

This lopsided focus on women and the tendency to discount the male role in gendered issues is neither unusual nor restricted to literature on sex work. Berns (2001) suggests that within research and media coverage of intimate partner violence, there is a tendency to degender the violence, but to gender the blame for the violence. She suggests that much of the discourse on intimate partner violence tends to focus primarily on female culpability and the factors which make women vulnerable to or responsible for intimate partner violence. Thus this tendency to render men invisible, and rather pathologise women, is reflective of broader patterns in literature on gender issues.

2.3.1 Characteristics of the client. Of the small body of literature on clients which does exist, the majority of work is based on quantitative research (Busch, Bell, Hotaling, & Monto, 2002; Das, Esmail, & Eargle, 2009; Della Giusta, Di Tommaso, Shima, & Strøm, 2009; Freund, Lee, & Leonard, 1991; Gibbens & Silberman, 1960; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Monto & Hotaling, 2001; Monto & McRee, 2005; Monto, 2001; Pitts, Smith, Grierson, O'Brien, & Misson, 2004; Pitts et al., 2004; Vanwesenbeeck, van Zessen, de Graaf, & Straver, 1994; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). Most of this research attempts to profile and characterize men who buy sex from women according to their socio-demographic characteristics, sexual preferences and practices, their personality characteristics or the presence of psychological pathology.

Monto and McRee (2005) suggest that scholarly work on men who buy sex can be divided into two conceptions of the client. The first they refer to as the “every man perspective”, which implies that men who buy sex from sex workers are no different to men in general. The second they refer to as the “peculiar man perspective” which implies that clients have different characteristics, including particular social and personal deficiencies, to that of men in general (Monto & McRee, 2005, p. 506). In support of the “peculiar man” perspective, Xantidis and McRee (2005) found that clients were significantly less feminine in sex-role orientation, scored lower in social–sexual effectiveness, and scored higher on sensation seeking measures than non-clients. However, when comparing the findings of various studies, which collect information on the socio-demographic characteristics of men who buy sex from women, there appears to be a great deal of support for the “every man” perspective. The findings across these studies are largely contradictory, and do very little, collectively, to paint a picture of the prototypical client. For instance Pitts et al. (2004), Monto and McRee (2005) and Xandis and McCabe (2000) all conducted comparative studies of the characteristics of clients versus non-clients. Although all three studies agreed that there were definite overlaps between the characteristics of clients and non-clients, their findings yielded great disagreement as to which variables emerged as significant discriminators between clients and non-clients. For example, where Monto and McRee (2005) found that clients were significantly less likely to be married and significantly less likely to be happily married than non-clients, Pitts et al. (2004) found marital status to be a non-significant discriminating variable between clients and non-clients. Furthermore, where Pitts et al. (2004) found that clients in their sample were significantly older than non-clients; were less likely to have tertiary education; and were less likely to report having a regular partner over the

past 6 months, Xantidis and McCabe (2000) found no significant differences in age, education levels or the presence of a regular partner between clients and non-clients. When viewed in conjunction with one another, such studies do not offer any clarity on the question of who the client is, suggesting that there is not one type of client, but rather that clients are a heterogeneous group that may be indistinguishable from 'every other man'.

2.3.2 HIV/AIDS, risk and the client. The relationship between sex work and the heterosexual spread of HIV infection has received significant attention in research on sex work. This may largely be the result of the assumption that people who have multiple sexual partners are at greater risk of contracting and spreading HIV/AIDS (Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, & Gifford, 1996). The majority of medical and psychological literature on sex work has been focused on exploring risk taking behaviour and reporting on the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other STI's within the sex work industry (Elmore-Meegan, Conroy, & Agala, 2004). This body of research has primarily been focused on women who sell sex. Studies have explored both the factors involved in contributing towards sex workers' risk taking behaviours, as well as the barriers preventing them from exercising safer sex (Bucardo, 2004; Karim et al., 1995; Stadler & Delany, 2006; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). Much less research has explored clients' risk taking behaviours (McKeganey, 1994). However, there has recently been more recognition of the fact that male clients (who are also often husbands, lovers and travellers) are the interface between commercial sex and non-commercial sex. There has been some recognition, in recent work, that male clients' sexual practices are thus a crucial consideration (Plumridge et al., 1996). A body of literature focusing on clients' sexual risk taking behaviours and decision making strategies has thus emerged. These studies document the factors related to sexual health such as HIV/AIDS status; condom use; marital status; whether men go for regular HIV testing; number of sexual partners; and frequency of paid sexual encounters (Barnard, McKeganey, & Leyland, 1993; Day, Ward, & Perrotta, 1993; Faugier, 1995; Morse, Simon, Osofsky, Balson, & Gaumer, 1991; Varga, 1997; Voeten, Egesah, Ondiege, Varkevisser, & Habbema, 2002). Again, the findings vary greatly across these various studies and do not seem to provide any conclusive insight into the sexual health behaviours of men who buy sex.

There has also been an attempt to explore, more qualitatively, clients' attitudes towards condom use, negotiation of safe sex practices and clients' perception of risk (Faugier, 1995; McKeganey, 1994; Plumridge et al., 1996; Plumridge, Chetwynd, & Reed, 1997). From this

literature it appears that most men had positive attitudes towards condom use. These studies suggest that participants were aware of the risks that men faced by buying sex from sex workers. Most men understood and communicated the importance of condom use and said that they used condoms regularly. At the same time, most men seemed to feel that they themselves were at less of a risk than other clients because of the precautionary measures they took. Rather than themselves, it was *other* clients who were at risk (McKeganey, 1994).

Interestingly, the positive attitudes towards condom use found amongst men from these studies, conducted in the Global North, are not in agreement with African research exploring women's qualitative accounts of condom negotiation between themselves and clients. In these studies female sex workers said that men often demanded unprotected sex and abused their financial and/or physical power to ensure that sex workers complied with these demands (Huysamen, 2011; Karim et al., 1995; Okal et al., 2011; Stadler & Delany, 2006; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). One may question whether this discrepancy is related to the different cultural contexts within which the two bodies of research were conducted or whether it is due to the fact that the accounts were not from sex workers themselves but rather from clients, who may have not spoken completely honestly about these practices.

2.3.3 Clients' motivations for buying sex. There are studies which have endeavoured to list and categorize clients' primary motivational factors for buying sex (Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997; Joseph & Black, 2012; McKeganey, 1994; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Pitts et al., 2004; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). Although there were some contradictions across the findings of the studies, the following emerged as strong motivators reported by men themselves in all of these studies: paying for sex was less trouble/ less complicated; it gave relief from sexual urges or a high sex drive; it had an entertainment/excitement value; men paid for sex due to a preference for a variety of sex partners; to avoid emotional involvement or the possibility of a relationship; and because they sought companionship or emotionality. However, most clients had multiple motivations for seeking paid sex and most did not just fit into one response category, suggesting that client's motivations behind paying for sex may be multifaceted and complex.

There has been some research that suggests that clients can be classified according to their motivations for buying sex. Joseph and Black (2012) and Xantidis and McCabe (2000) propose complementary binary models for understanding clients' motivations. They both

identify two types of masculinities/men who pay for sex. The first is the “consumer masculinity” (Joseph & Black, 2012) or the high sensation seeking group (Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). These men are motivated to purchase sex because they *prefer* paying for sex over having a relationship as it affords them variety, pleasure and excitement. The second category of men are identified as the “fragile masculinity” (Xantidis & McCabe, 2000) or the “low social-sexual effectiveness” (Joseph & Black, 2012) group. These men are motivated to pay for sex by a need for interpersonal intimacy because they feel intimidated by conventional relationships, and feel uncomfortable around and rejected by women.

Although these studies may offer some indication of the characteristics of clients, they provide minimal insight into the unique subjectivities of the client.

2.3.4. Men’s subjective experiences of paying for sex. Qualitative literature which explicitly explores men’s subjective experiences and personal constructions of paying sex workers for sex is very limited. A literature search of journal articles yielded a small number of articles (Bernstein, 2001; Chen, 2005; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997; Sanders, 2008) which collect clients’ personal accounts through in-depth interviews, none of which were conducted in the South African context. Milrod and Weitzer (2012) also collected qualitative accounts of clients’ experiences by conducting a content analysis of over 2000 postings on a popular forum where clients review sex workers and discuss their experiences. Although these qualitative studies are limited in number and are conducted in varying contexts (Taiwan, New Zealand, USA, Australia and England) the parallels between their findings are striking.

Plumridge et al. (1997) suggest that client’s primary motivation for buying sex from sex workers is that of pleasure. Indeed, participants from all of the studies explained that the sex which they had with sex workers was (or was expected to be) more exciting, more fulfilling, provided more variety and was less boring or mundane than the sex they had with their wives or partners. In all but one of these studies (Sanders, 2008) there appeared to be two primary ways in which participants justified and constructed this pleasure in paid sex with sex workers. The first was the notion of “sex without responsibility” (Chen, 2005, p. 14; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997). The men interviewed were drawn to sex with sex workers as it afforded them freedom from the usual constraints and obligations, which are often attached to sex in non-paid sexual relationships (this bears great semblance to the “just sex” construction identified in

studies on men's construction of their heterosexual encounters reviewed earlier). The male sex drive discourse was often reflected in men's sex without responsibility justifications, sex was constructed as natural, uncontrollable and, as one participant described it, "a basic need like bread and butter" (Jordan, 1997, p. 10). Many participants, across the five studies, explained that it was cheaper to buy sex from sex workers than it was to obtain sex from women through following usual dating practices where men are expected to pay for drinks and meals. In non-commercial dating there is no guarantee that their money and efforts would translate into a successful sexual encounter (Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997). More importantly, these clients believed that the monetary exchange absolved them from any of these obligations or responsibilities attached to heterosexual relationships, they did not run the risk of women expecting long term commitment after having sex with them.

Participants' talk about sex workers commonly contained market-related discourse and reflected a sense of commodification of women. One participant in Chen's study explained that he thought only about his own sexual pleasure, because that was all that he had paid for. Men explained that they owed sex workers nothing, and "had the right to choose" which women they wanted to have sex with as well as the right to change their minds about having sex with a woman at the last minute if they were unsatisfied with the product on offer (Chen, 2005, p. 7). In this sense the client-sex worker relationship was constructed as extremely commercialized and depersonalized (Chen, 2005).

Quite paradoxically, the second factor relating to clients' justification and understanding of pleasure in paid sex was their desire for intimacy and the perception (or illusion) of mutuality and reciprocity within the client-sex worker relationship. In all of the qualitative studies reviewed, the discourse of reciprocity as defined by Gilfoyle et al. (1992) had a strong presence in participants' talk. Many participants insisted that the sex workers derived as much sexual pleasure from the client-sex worker interaction as they did. In fact, for many participants, this belief that pleasure was mutual, was essential to their own experience of sexual pleasure within the client-sex worker relationship (Chen, 2005; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997). Interestingly, Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed et al. (1997) found that most participants had never asked the women whether or not they enjoyed the sexual experience, and those who had asked were told by the women that they did not experience pleasure from their paid encounters. However, despite this lack of supporting evidence, and even in the face of contrary evidence,

most participants still insisted that sex workers did derive pleasure from the client-sex worker relationship.

Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed et al. (1997) and Bernstein (2001) both reported that, in the in-depth interviews they conducted, men tended to paint themselves in a very favourable light. Men described themselves as respectful of sex workers' bodies and being attentive to their sexual needs and demands, allowing the women to take primary control within the interaction. Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al. (1997) suggest that this positive construction of their role and the illusion of mutuality allows for a reduction in feelings of guilt, as it avoids the construction of clients as exploiters or villains, but rather constructs them as participants in a wholly mutual emotional and sexual encounter.

Furthermore, this body of qualitative research revealed that clients placed great emotional demands on sex workers. The majority of participants across all of these studies perceived the client-sex worker relationship to be based, not only on mutual enjoyment, but also on mutual emotional connection and companionship. Almost all participants communicated, to varying degrees (often depending on the type of sex workers they patronised), that they valued and expected an emotional and social element to be present in the client-sex worker relationship. They expected sex workers to appear happy to see them or to show genuine care or affection towards them. For many clients, the closer the resemblance that the client-sex worker interaction bore to a real romantic encounter, the more satisfactory it was. Many clients explained that they went to great lengths to create a genuine atmosphere or the "girlfriend experience" which mirrors conventional relationships (Chen, 2005; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Sanders, 2008, p. 407). The emotional demands many clients placed on the client-sex worker relationship is well illustrated through one participant who explained, "I care, she cares, we are friends, we are lovers"(Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997, p. 174).

The presence of a sense of intimacy and emotional mutuality was seen by participants as an essential element of "good sex" within the client-sex worker interaction. Thus the client-sex worker relationship seems to be largely shaped by men's expectations of intimacy and their emotional needs and demands (Chen, 2005). Sanders (2008, p. 413) suggests that "the sex industry is not simply about selling sex and sexual fantasies" but is also about attending to the emotional needs of male clients. Thus it seems as though men demand more than a just sexual

service, but that many may demand emotional labour from sex workers (Milrod & Weitzer, 2012).

What is most interesting about these findings is that it is often the *same* men who construct the client-sex worker relationship in two contradictory ways. On the one hand they construct it in a very depersonalized, commercialized and sexualized way, whereby money frees them from all responsibilities towards the women they have sex with (Chen, 2005). This ties in well with Hollway's notion of the sex-drive discourse where sex primarily functions to satisfy men's natural sexual urges and is devoid of emotion or commitment. On the other hand, men seemed to have a compulsion to construct the client-sex worker relationship as based on reciprocity, mutuality, and demand some degree of intimacy and emotionality (Chen, 2005). This construction of the client-sex worker relationship resonates, to some extent, with the have/hold discourse where heterosexual sex is tied up with intimacy, emotionality and commitment. Clients' assumption of reciprocity is also characteristic of broader heterosexual discourses reviewed earlier (Gilfoyle et al., 1992). The clients' two contradictory constructions of paid sex, which appear completely illogical, thus begin to make more sense when they are viewed in light of the dominant discourses of heterosexuality, which would be instrumental in men's experience and construction of their heterosexual encounters in society today.

Plumridge et al. (1997) makes sense of these contradictory constructions of the client-sex worker relationship by suggesting that together they form a "self-serving schema" which allows the client to enjoy the client-sex worker relationship with neither responsibility nor guilt. Similarly, Bernstein (2001) developed the term "bounded authenticity" in unpacking men's seemingly contradictory demands from the client-sex worker relationship: paying for sex was so alluring to these men as it provided them with the authenticity of a genuine relationship, but within boundaries which protected them from all the obligations associated with heterosexual relationships.

In summary, this chapter has reviewed literature on men, masculinities and heterosexuality as well as existing research on male clients of female sex workers. The findings suggest that each society dictates specific cultural prescriptions of what it means to be a "real" or idealized man in that given society. Similarly the literature has identified a number of dominant heterosexual discourses that prescribe a set of rules for constructing, understanding and acting within heterosexual relationships. Literature on clients revealed that men construct their paying

for sex in contradictory ways and have contradictory demands and desires for the client-sex worker interaction. The collective findings of this body of literature suggest that men are attracted to paying for sex because it affords them sex without the commitment of a conventional relationship. In contrast, men simultaneously desire and often demand a level of emotionality, authenticity and intimacy from the client-sex worker encounter. Perhaps most significantly, this review reveals the parallels between the broader research on dominant discourses, heterosexual relationships and men's constructions of their paid sexual encounters with sex workers. Whether it be a paid or traditional heterosexual encounter, men seem to simultaneously desire a "no strings attached" type of sex and communicate a need for a sense of intimacy, connection and closeness. This reinforces the notion that paying for sex is inherently complex and intertwined with broader mechanisms of identity, masculinity and heterosexuality.

2.4 Research Gap and Rationale for Study

Many research articles on clients introduced their research with the statement that the voices of clients have gone virtually unheard in academic research into sex work (Brooks-Gordon & Gelsthorpe, 2003; Della Giusta et al., 2009; Plumridge, Chetwynd, & Reed, 1997). This review serves to confirm this statement. Although a (limited) body of work has explored the phenomenon of men who buy sex, attempting to measure and classify client behaviour, very few studies have actually set out to explore what the clients of sex workers themselves have to say on the matter. Very little in-depth qualitative research exploring the unique subjectivities of male clients has been undertaken, in fact, an established body of research on the subjectivities of male clients in South Africa simply does not exist. This is particularly true for the qualitative articles on clients reviewed in this chapter, with none being set in the South African context. Thus there is a clear need for in-depth qualitative studies on men who buy sex in South Africa.

Of the international qualitative studies which do exist, none are conducted through a narrative lens. None of these studies explicitly attempt to explore what clients, beyond the overt content, may really be saying through their talk, none unpack what men's narratives about paying for sex "does" for them. Thus in-depth narrative research, which focuses on how men construct their identities and position themselves in relation to paying for sex is necessary. This kind of research may contribute towards gaining a deeper understanding of the relationship between men's identities as clients and their identities and roles as men, fathers and husbands in

society. When we gain a better understanding of what paying for sex means to men, and how it both influences and is influenced by the aspects of their social identities, we can begin to better understand the demand aspect of the sex work industry.

Through this literature review it also becomes clear that, in many instances, the scripts and discourses governing masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality mirror the sexual scripts of men who buy sex from sex workers. Indeed there seems to be definite parallels between the broader research on heterosexual relationships and men's constructions and understanding of their paid sexual encounters with sex workers. Although some studies have touched on this connection, there is a need for research which specifically sets out to identify the relationship between dominant discourses of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality and men's constructions and understandings of paying for sex. For it is by understanding the underlying mechanisms that may be inextricably linked to maintaining and perpetuating men paying for sex, that we can begin to gain a more holistic understanding of the sex work industry in our society.

2.5 Aims and Research Questions

This study seeks to explore and critically analyse men's narratives on buying sex from female sex workers.

2.6 Research Questions

1. How do men use narratives to make meaning of, justify and explain buying sex from sex workers?
2. How do men construct and negotiate their identities as men, fathers and husbands in relation to their identities as clients through the stories they tell?
3. How do dominant discourses of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality shape men's construction and experience of paying sex workers for sex?

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter will outline the methodology employed in this project. It will begin with a brief overview of qualitative methodologies and the principles of feminist research. A more detailed introduction to narrative research will then be presented. This will be followed by an outline of the recruitment process and context, the data collection and analysis procedures as well as a summary of the characteristics of the participants. Thereafter an examination of ethical considerations will be presented as well as a discussion on some of the limitations of this study. Finally issues of reflexivity will be discussed.

3.1 Qualitative Research

This research project is structured according to a qualitative research design. The aim is to describe and understand people's everyday lives and the meaning they attach to it (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). A qualitative design does not focus on generalizing findings to a broader population, rather concerning itself with generating thick descriptions and making meaning of individuals' unique experiences. In qualitative research there is an acknowledgement that the meaning of people's experiences and behaviours can only be understood in relation to the specific social, cultural and historical context in which it occurs (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Qualitative research does not claim to be objective, but calls for reflexive researchers who are both aware of the effects of difference and similarity (such as race, class and gender) and acknowledge their own influence over the research process (Banister, 2011). Qualitative research is aimed at exploring human action from the perspectives of the social actors themselves (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). This may be particularly relevant to the current research topic, as the voices of the clients have gone almost completely unheard in academic literature on sex work.

3.2 Feminist Research

This project was not intended to be a feminist research project per se. However, as a student, I have been heavily located within a feminist paradigm throughout my studies. The fact

that I approached the research through a feminist lens and that feminist principles, values and practices would have some influence on the research process, was thus inevitable. Although my research was not based on or driven by a particular feminist position on sex work (e.g. radical, liberal) the aims of this project were in agreement with a number of basic feminist principals. The central aim of feminist research is to explore topics which are pertinent to women's lives. It is intended to generate results which have practical implications which impact meaningfully on women's personal lives and on feminist politics (Bowen, Bahrack, & Enns, 1991). Research which provides insight into how men understand and motivate paying women for sex certainly may impact on women's lives, both at a personal and political level. Moreover, feminism is grounded in the assumption that personal and political spheres are interrelated and interdependent elements of women's realities (DeVoe, 1990). Feminism proposes that women's (and I argue men's) identities and experiences are partly a product of their relative positioning within the hegemonic society within which they live. Therefore studying the relationship between men's subjective experiences of buying sex from sex workers; their identity construction; and broader gender norms certainly ties in with a feminist research agenda.

From a theoretical point of view, the relationship between interviewing men who pay for sex and feminist research seems unproblematic. However, feminist research calls for certain approaches with regards to method and process (Watts, 2006). Central to the feminist approach is the principle and goal of empowerment of participants (Bowen et al., 1991). Initially I struggled to reconcile this principle with my particular research project, where the majority of participants already seemed to be part of an empowered segment of society - white, wealthy males. Was it ethical for a feminist research process to further empower such men? Although I was never fully able to answer this question I concluded that although these men were empowered in many contexts of their lives, when it came to research on sex work, men have been rendered voiceless on the issue. Through foregrounding and privileging the perspectives of participants and by viewing them as the experts in their own lives I was able to give this group of men a voice on the issue of their own experiences of being a client (Corey, 2009; England, 1994; Watts, 2006). I realized that it was only by allowing them to speak freely about their experiences of paying for sex and their lives more generally, that I would be able to meet one of the most important of all feminist principals: to expose and destabilise the gendered societal norms which serve to disempower women (and some men). This research was feminist because

it offered insight into an issue that, both directly and indirectly, deeply affects many women's lives.

3.3 Narrative Approach

This qualitative research process was primarily informed by a narrative approach, both as a theoretical framework and as a research design. Narrative methods form part of a broader social constructionist paradigm (Crossley, 2000). Social Constructionist approaches suggest that knowledge is a product of human interaction, socially and culturally constructed. In social constructionist approaches, which are often called language based approaches, the self is seen to be inextricably linked to the language and linguistic devices which are available to us in our everyday lives and which we use to make sense of ourselves and others (Crossley, 2000). Where other approaches in psychology may be concerned with exploring and describing the true self, psychological research informed by a social constructionist approach is more concerned with exploring *how* the self is talked about. Less emphasis is placed on the self as an entity, instead the focus is directed to methods of constructing the self (Crossley, 2000).

Narrative theory was originally developed for analysing written literature, but today it has been applied to analysing a vast array of written, spoken and visual materials and even material collected through in-depth ethnographic enquiries (Riessman, 2008). Indeed, narratives can be found in a myriad of different materials and are argued to have been present in every part of human life throughout history. However, Riessman (2008, p. 4) suggests that although "narrative is everywhere, not everything is narrative". Indeed, not all talk and text may be defined as narrative. But what exactly constitutes narrative? There is no single definition or meaning for the term 'narrative' (Riessman, 2002, 2008; Smith, 2000). Narrative is often used synonymously with the term "story" (Riessman, 2008). Westernized definitions describe narratives to be a structured, temporal, linear ordering of events with a beginning, middle and end, yet this is not true for all narratives (Fraser, 2004; Riessman, 2002, 2008; Smith, 2000). For example, narratives of non-Western, collectivist cultures may be ordered in a non-linear, or episodic fashion (Riessman, 2002). The narratives of survivors of traumatic events are often chaotic and disorganized (Crossley, 2000; Herman, 2001). However, the aspect at the core of all narratives, that which separates them from other forms of communication, is contingency of events (Crossley, 2000; Riessman, 2008). In the telling of a narrative the speaker selects and

recounts (and performs) the occurrence of a particular set of events, which are in some way consequential to one another, in order to convey a particular message to a specific audience (Riessman, 2002, 2008).

Personal narratives make for interesting units of analysis because they are not merely neutral and passive accounts of events. Rather, they are strategic and functional – in other words narratives *do* things (Riessman, 2002). Riessman suggests that narratives may be used by individuals (either consciously or unconsciously) to “remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and even mislead” their audience (2008, p. 8). Therefore a primary task for the narrative analyst is exploring what the narrative unit under analysis “does” or accomplishes. The narrative analyst’s key interest lies in which stories participants choose to convey, how they portray these stories, and the identities which they consequentially construct through these stories.

One of the central functions of personal narratives is the construction of selfhood and identity. It is through narratives that we create ourselves (Crossley, 2000). When an individual tells a story about their life, they are performing a *preferred* version of their identity which they wish to display to the *specific* audience (Parker, 2005; Riessman, 2002, 2008). Narrative approaches, heavily situated within the post-modern paradigm, accept that truth and meaning are not stable, but rather socially constructed, fluid and multiple (Jackson, 2001; Riessman, 2002; Stivers, 1993). Thus the approach acknowledges and expects people, in their narratives, to construct themselves, and others, in ways which are characterized by contradiction, ambiguity and variability rather than with constancy and uniformity (Jackson, 2001). Moreover, the interview context may be a site for knowledge and identity construction. The act of narrating may, in itself, function as a meaning making process, assisting people to structure, organize, negotiate and make sense of their past experiences (Langellier, 1989; Riessman, 2008). Through the process of talking or writing, individuals are constantly engaged in an active process of creating and recreating their ever-shifting identities (Crossley, 2000).

Finally, narratives serve not only micro or individual purposes but also “do things” at a political or macro level. Riessman suggests that stories are social artefacts, which are composed in specific contexts (e.g. interactional, historical, discursive) and tell us as much about society as they do about the narrator (Riessman, 2008). The act of transforming a lived experience into a narrative is by no means a simple matter of relaying events verbatim or “as they really

happened”. Rather the process is mediated by controlling discourses and available cultural resources, as Riesman (2008, p. 3) so eloquently states, “Narratives are composed for particular audiences at moments in history, and they draw on taken for granted discourses and values circulating in a particular culture.” Thus narrative methods allow (and call) for the systematic study of both the micro and macro context of human experience (Riessman, 2008). The feminist principal of “personal is political” can therefore easily be linked to narrative method (Riessman, 2002). Personal narratives were useful in the context of the current research, inasmuch as they allowed me to explore the meaning men make of paying for sex and how this is intertwined with their identity and sense of self as well as dominant discourses of gender and sexuality.

3.4 Making Contact

“The people participating in a study are often referred to as a “sample”, a group carefully picked to respond to the needs of the researcher, often imagined to be representative of a particular social stratum or group. A more appropriate term for the men in this study would, however, be arrivals; more than me choosing them, they chose me, and arrived in this study for various reasons.” (Sandberg, 2011, p. 70)

Sandberg’s statement points to a number of factors which are equally relevant to my own sample and sampling strategy. As with Sandberg’s sample, the participants in my study were not randomly selected to allow for some kind of generalisability, neither were they purposively selected to allow for a specific and uniform set of participant characteristics. Rather, all of the participants in this study were self selected, they contacted me in response to advertisements I placed in online classifieds.

I began the recruitment process by placing an advertisement on a free online classifieds website, called Gumtree (www.gumtree.co.za). This popular website offers a free service which, just like print classifieds, is used by all kinds of people to buy and sell personal belongings and a range of other items and services. The website does not offer an adult or erotic services section and it blocks any advertisements with sexual content. I thus placed the advertisement in the “general” section of the classifieds and worded my advertisement strategically as to avoid any sexual language.

“Wanted: Looking to interview men who use the services of women

To all men who use or have used the services of women who sell their bodies for money: I am a research student who has been exploring the issue for the past two years. I have interviewed women who sell their services, and I have started interviewing men who are clients. I am interested in hearing your side of the story, your opinions. Interviews are completely anonymous. Please email me if you would be willing to share your opinions on the issue.”

My decision to use Gumtree was in fact not particularly well thought through or strategic. Being a website which was both free and familiar to me, I merely placed an advertisement to ascertain whether or not recruiting participants using online sites would be a feasible option. However, within 48 hours of placing the advertisement it had attracted a great deal of interest, with many men contacting me to further enquire about my research. I then extended the recruitment process by advertising on a similar online classifieds website named Locanto (www.locanto.co.za).

I did attempt to place advertisements on websites which, specifically geared towards the sex industry, offered an online listing service where sex workers could advertise their services to prospective clients. These websites also offered forums and chat rooms where men could communicate with one another and offer tips, advice and recommendations about various sex workers, escort agencies and so on. However, quite unlike when advertising in the general classified websites, I was met with a great deal of animosity by members of these sites and my advertisements were quickly reported and removed by site administrators. It was clear that men, connected by their client identities, had created a strong sense of community through these online forums. I was seen as some kind of outsider or imposter infringing on their privacy or attempting to expose them. Thus it quickly became clear that such websites were not feasible recruitment platforms. The sample was thus recruited through advertisements placed on the two online classified websites. Fourteen participants were recruited for the project.

As previously mentioned, there was a great deal of interest in the advertisements placed on these two websites, with dozens of men contacting me to further enquire about my research. For every participant interviewed there were about three men who said they were not prepared to meet in public but shared their opinions and experiences via email communication. Although I did not use the material from these email interviews in my analysis, I am certain that these interviews did inform my general understanding of the types of narratives men told, and did give some extra voice to the overall stories told throughout this research project.

There were no criteria for selection of participants; none of the men who communicated that they would like to be interviewed were excluded. I did however receive emails from three men who used profanities and crass sexual language in their initial responses to the advertisements. I did not respond to these emails. I continued recruiting participants until responses to my online advertisements began to decrease and eventually ceased, indicating that sampling had reached near saturation point.

3.5 Participants

As the table to follow indicates, the sample consisted of 14 men whose mean age was approximately 43 years. The ages of participants ranged from 30 to 65 years old. Of the 14 participants 10 were white, three were Indian or coloured¹ and one participant was black. All but two participants were South African, Jonah was from Zimbabwe and John was from England. All participants resided in Cape Town at the time of the interviews besides for John, who resided in The United States of America but worked in South Africa. All participants were employed and most had careers which would place them in middle to higher income brackets. Only three participants were single. One participant was separated from his wife and one was in a long-term relationship. The remaining 9 participants were all married. All participants were assigned pseudonyms in order to protect their identities.

Although I did not specifically enquire about their sexual identity, all participants made it clear that they identified as heterosexual men.

¹ A racial term created during Apartheid that grouped particular South African citizens according to their skin 'colour' which was darker than 'white' but lighter than 'black' skin. 'Coloured' was a composite and diverse category including the descendants of relationships between white and black people, the descendants of 'Malay' slaves brought from South-East Asia and descendants of the indigenous Khoi and San tribes (Seekings, 2008). Despite the abolition of Apartheid, this term is still used to identify and name people as Coloured in South Africa (Seekings, 2008).

Table 1.

Participant Details

Name	Age	Race	Marital Status	Type	Occupation
Keith	48	White	Relationship	Agency	Photographer
Henk	44	White	Single	Agency	Undisclosed
Peter	44	White	Married	Agency & Private	Engineer
Dirk	44	White	Single	Agency	Policeman
Collin	44	White	Married	Agency	Photographer
Zade	30	Indian	Separated	Agency & Private	IT specialist
John	65	White	Married	Agency & Private	Engineer
Edwin	53	Coloured	Divorced	Street	Undisclosed
Nazeem	42	Indian	Married	Street	Undisclosed
Jonah	30	Black	Married	Street	Hotel Porter
Mark	30	White	Married	Agency & Private	Own Business
Ian	39	White	Married	Agency & Street	Own Business
Steven	52	White	Married	Agency & Private	Own Business
Gert	32	White	Married	Agency & Street	Financial Sector
Mean	<i>42.64</i>				

3.6 Data Collection

Data was collected through once-off face-to-face interviews. Interviews took place in coffee shops in areas which were most convenient for participants. I did not offer participants any kind of compensation for their time. Thus all participants agreed to be interviewed because they, for various reasons, wanted to participate in the research project. Interviews lasted for between 30 and 90 minutes and were recorded, with participants' permission, using a digital voice recorder.

My ambition for the data collection process was to keep interviews as open-ended or unstructured as possible. The open-ended or narrative interview attempts to move away from the classic interviewer – interviewee question and answer format, towards a more open and collaborative approach. This type of interview takes on the form of a conversation, a discourse between two speakers who are seen as co-constructors of narrative and meaning (Langellier, 1989; Riessman, 2008). The primary aim of such interviews is to elicit, from participants', long sections of talk and detailed accounts of their subjective experiences (Riessman, 2008; Smith,

2000). Thus, rather than being guided by a predetermined interview schedule, I simply asked participants “tell me about your first experience of paying for sex”.

Although I aimed to keep interviews completely open-ended, upon listening to interview recordings, it became clear that there was some commonality across interviews which allowed me to explore particular recurring questions of interest. These questions included: Why do you think sex workers sell sex? Do you think sex workers can enjoy sex with clients? Do you think a sex worker could fall in love with a client? What are your reasons for paying for sex? Do you ever feel guilty about paying for sex? Have you had any negative experiences related to paying for sex? Thus, although interviews were based on an unstructured narrative interview model, they still took on a semi-structured format to some degree, varying from participant to participant.

3.7 Data Analysis

Narratives do not speak for themselves, rather they need to be analysed (Riessman, 2008). Unlike some other qualitative methods such as thematic analysis, there is no agreed upon step-by-step recipe for analysing narrative data. Furthermore, there are various types or methods of narrative analysis, each focusing on different aspects of the narrative (Riessman, 2008). However, there are some common characteristics shared by all types of narrative analysis. One primary characteristic of narrative analysis has already been detailed: narrative analysis is not purely focused on the surface-level content of the account but, to some degree, on the function of narratives and what they “do” for and mean to the teller. A defining feature of narrative analysis is that it is case centred. It relies on extended accounts, these accounts or stories are kept intact rather than being fragmented or coded. This being said, narratives come in various forms. What the researcher selects as the unit of analysis may vary along a continuum from a brief story making up a small segment of an interview; to extended sections of talk about an aspect of an individual’s history which develops over the course of an interview or interviews; to an entire biographical account comprising of interviews, observations and documents (Riessman, 2008). But regardless of the type of narrative selected as the unit of analysis, these accounts are kept whole and their original sequence is maintained.

3.7.1 Thematic narrative analysis. Different types of narrative analysis focus on different aspects of the narrative. Thematic narrative analysis, as described by Riessman (2008),

primarily guided the data analysis process. In thematic narrative analysis data is interpreted by identifying common stories and thematic categories across research participants. However, the individual narratives within and across participants' accounts are analysed as a whole and are not fragmented as far as possible. As mentioned above, it is this practice of keeping stories whole which differentiates it from grounded theory (Riessman, 2008). In comparison to other forms of narrative analysis, in thematic narrative analysis there is a greater focus on the content narratives communicate and less of a focus on how the narrative is structured or how language is used.

3.7.2 Discourse analysis. Contrary to the general principals of a more thematic narrative analysis, I wished to pay some attention to how language was used. Thus I drew upon the tools and principals of discourse analysis (Hall, 2001). Most forms of discourse analysis are based on the post-structuralist assumption that meaning and knowledge is discursively represented through language (Gavey, 1989). Discourse regulates behaviour, stipulates how certain ideas about certain subjects are put into practice and creates rules which restrict opposing ways of talking about, or conducting ourselves in relation to these subjects (Hall, 2001). In short, discourse provides a system of meaning for understanding, experiencing and acting in the world (Willig, 2001). Discourse analysis has been used in much international gender research (Hollway, 2001). Indeed, Kopano Ratele, a prominent contributor to masculinities studies in South Africa, suggests that “Forty years of discourse studies have taught us the productivity of discourse and the immanence of sexual and gender power in talk and text” (Ratele, 2006, p. 51). Duncombe and Marsden (1996, cited in Farvid & Braun, 2006) suggest that people come to understand sexuality and experience their sexual behaviour through discourses about sex. Dominant discourses of sex and sexuality play a part in the construction of individual subjectivities and identities (Farvid & Braun, 2006). Therefore, in this research project, I wish to pay attention to how masculinity, femininity and sexuality are constituted through discourse. I explore how various discourses provide men with certain ways of talking about, constructing and positioning themselves in relation to sex work and their client identities.

3.7.3 Dialogic/performative narrative analysis. Riessman (2008) suggests that thematic narrative analysis pays little attention to the “local context”. She suggests that the conditions in which the narrative is produced, such as the perceived audience and the influence of interviewer, go largely unnoticed in thematic narrative analysis. However, the tradition of feminist research highlights the importance of considering the relationship between the interviewer and the

participant. I felt that, specifically because of the nature of the topic under study, my presence as a female interviewer did impact significantly on these particular interviews with men and warranted some attention. Thus elements of a Dialogic/performative approach were used to supplement the thematic narrative analysis.

Unlike a thematic approach, performative narrative analysis pays close attention to the context within which narrative is produced. It acknowledges that stories do not simply appear in a vacuum but are produced in a specific interactional, historical and discursive context (Langellier, 1989; Riessman, 2008). Furthermore, performative analysis acknowledges that stories do not just passively exist, rather they are performed. Therefore the focus of the analysis is not exclusively on the told, but also on the *telling* (Langellier, 1989). Central to any performance is the audience to whom the performance is directed. The teller selects which stories to tell and how these stories are told based on who the audience is perceived to be - a preferred version of the self is performed for the audience (Greenhalgh, Russell, & Swinglehurst, 2005; Langellier, 1989; Riessman, 2008). Thus, in performative narrative analysis, the audience is viewed as central to the narrative and as highly implicated in its construction and meaning (Riessman, 2008). Although there are many audiences to a research interview (real or imagined), for the purpose of the current analysis, I pay attention primarily to the implications of myself, the interviewer as an audience to participants' narratives.

Not only does the interviewer influence the construction of the narrative through being audience to a performance, but also plays an active part in its creation (Riessman, 2008). Again narratives are not just told in isolation, but rather occur within the conversational interactions between the researcher and the participant. Due to the unstructured, conversational nature of narrative interviews, the telling of personal narratives is heavily influenced by normal conversational structures (such as turn-taking, eye contact and body language) between the interviewer and the participant. Therefore, in dialogic narrative analysis, narratives arising from the research interviews are analysed as a product of the joint construction of knowledge and meaning between the researcher and the participant (Langellier, 1989; Watts, 2006).

In summary, data was analysed using a thematic analysis approach. With a strong focus on the *content* of the narrative, commonalities across research participant's narratives were identified and ordered thematically. However, principles of discourse analysis, specifically how various discourses on masculinity and sexuality provided a system of meaning by which men

could construct themselves in relation to their identities as clients, was utilised. Furthermore, the analysis was also informed by performative/dialogic analysis as it seemed impossible to ignore how narratives were interactively performed and collaboratively produced by the researcher and the participant.

3.8 Writing up of Results: A Note on Language

Niemi (2010) suggests that language is by no means neutral, but rather is central in framing the issue of sex work. In Chapter One I outlined the divide within feminist literature around how sex work is framed and defined. Where the liberal feminist movement advocate for the more neutral, market based construct of “sex work”, the radical feminists choose the term “prostitution”, in an attempt to allow the exploitation that women experience in the industry to remain apparent. The existing terminology for speaking about the issue is informed by or connected to either one of these two schools of thought. I was thus faced with the question of which terminology I would use for writing up the findings of this report. I did not wish to write this research report from either of side of the feminist debate. My point of departure for this particular project was not based on the premise that the sale sex of was inherently harmful or inherently empowering. However, there exists no neutral language to speak about the issue of sex work/prostitution (Niemi, 2010). Because the primary aim of the project was to provide a voice to men who pay for sex, I decided to adopt the discourses participants most commonly identified with. In the case the interview data, this was a market related discourse. Thus throughout this report I have used and will continue to use the term “sex work” in the presentation and discussion of the findings. At the same time I remain aware of the limitations, constraints and power of all language.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Some basic ethical considerations apply to the treatment of participants in both qualitative and quantitative research (Willig, 2007). The following section will discuss some of the ethical considerations relevant to this research process.

3.9.1 Harm to subjects and confidentiality. Researchers have an ethical obligation to protect participants from harm (Willig, 2007). Harm is multidimensional and could include threat to personal safety; causing emotional distress; financial loss; or damage to reputation

(Corbin, 2003; Willig, 2001). All interviews were conducted in public places at times and venues which were most convenient for participants. In general, the content of the interviews was not of a distressing nature, and because of the unstructured nature of the interviews, participants were in control of exactly how much they wished to share and expose. Thus it can be argued that participating in the project served as a low physical and emotional risk to participants.

However, due to the stigma attached to sex work, damage to the reputation of participants was a realistic concern (Grenz, 2005). In most cases, that they paid sex workers for sex was a secret which participants kept from their families, employers and sometimes their friends. For many participants, if their identities as clients were to be exposed, they ran the risk of threatening their marriages and other important relationships. Confidentiality and upholding participants' anonymity was therefore of utmost concern. Participants were not asked to provide any identifying details such as real names, surnames and contact numbers. They were able to contact me using email accounts which did not reveal their identifying particulars. Pseudonyms were used when quoting participants throughout this report.

3.9.2 Informed consent and deception of respondents. Informed consent implies that participants are given all the possible information about the purpose and procedure of the research before data collection takes place (Corbin, 2003; Willig, 2001). Deception refers to intentionally misrepresenting facts in such a way that participants believe that which is not true (De Vos, 2002). In line with the feminist principal of transparency, participants were informed about all aspects of the research project before interviews commenced and were not deceived in any way. The men who responded to the online advertisements expressing interest in the project were sent an email where I introduced myself as the researcher and thoroughly explained the purpose of the project and format of the interviews. They were then free to respond to this email and ask as many questions relating to the project and the interview process as they wished. In most cases, a number of emails were sent back and forth between myself and prospective participants, and men only agreed to participate in interviews when they were satisfied with all the information I had provided them with.

At the beginning of each interview participants were given a consent form which furnished them with the details of the researcher; the purpose of the research; research process; data analysis processes and issues of confidentiality. Participants were made aware of their right to terminate interviews, without consequence, at any point in the interview process. Participants

were provided with contact details for both myself and the Department of Psychology and were free to contact me if there were any parts of interviews they later decided they wanted to be omitted or changed. All participants were self-selected and they were not offered any form of compensation for their participation and thus were in no way forced or manipulated to participate in the project.

3.9.3 Debriefing. After each interview I asked participants to reflect on their experience of the interview process and voice any concerns that they may have had. I also welcomed participants to send me feedback on the interviews via email. Most participants described the interview as a positive experience, and many said that the interview served as a source of relief as it was the first time they had told anyone or spoken at length about buying sex. No participant expressed or displayed any signs of distress during or after interviews, thus no further steps were taken with regards to debriefing or referrals.

3.10 Limitations of the Study

The recruitment and sampling strategy is an aspect of the design of this project which may easily fall under scrutiny. The sample of men in this study is in no way representative of the larger population of men who buy sex in South Africa. Because the recruitment process was conducted via the internet, it automatically excluded any men who are computer illiterate or did not have access to the internet via their cellular phones, internet cafés or personal computers. This meant that the recruitment strategy, by default, excluded a very specific segment of the population in South Africa - those who are most under-privileged. Thus it was not surprising that the sample consisted of predominantly white, privileged men.

However, it may be suggested that studying privileged men is not necessarily a shortcoming of the study. In South Africa it seems that social research is often conducted using samples drawn from underprivileged or marginalised populations. This may, amongst a number of other factors, be due to the fact that people from these populations are easily recruited into research projects. It can be speculated that underprivileged and disempowered populations are more likely to be eligible recipients of government grants or services and are more likely to seek the services of Non-Governmental Organizations, therefore researchers can easily gain access to samples through such organizations. Furthermore, it may be suggested that, for those people living in extreme poverty, the small financial compensation often offered to participants may be

an incentive to participate in research projects. However, it is less likely that this compensation would motivate wealthier people to participate, again making wealthier, more empowered groups more difficult to access as research participants. It can thus be suggested that, when it comes to research on social issues, privileged populations may be under-researched in South Africa.

I suggest that when researchers exclusively draw research samples from underprivileged groups, in conducting research on stigmatized social issues such as sex work, HIV/AIDs or violence, they run the risk of further marginalizing and stigmatizing these already marginalised groups. Focusing research solely on underprivileged people may inadvertently serve to associate them with the stigmatized social issues under study. Such research may unintentionally give the impression that the poor and marginalised are the only types of people to be affected by these issues. Thus researching “privilege” may in fact not be a downfall of the research project but may be a valuable contribution to social research in South Africa.

Furthermore, the fact that interviews were conducted in public places may have negatively affected the interview process. It was decided that conducting interviews in public coffee shops would largely rule out any concerns for my safety, as a young female, interviewing anonymous men. It also allowed participants to decide on the location of the interview, which would ensure that participants incurred the least amount of time and travelling expenses as they were not being compensated for their time. However, public spaces may not have been the ideal context for participants to discuss such intimate aspects of their lives. It can be suggested that private interview venue, where participants did not have to be concerned about people recognising them or overhearing the stories they told, may have provided a more suitable interview context and allowed for richer data to be collected.

3.11 Reflexivity

Reflexivity can be defined as the researcher’s reflection on the various ways in which they effect the construction of meaning and knowledge throughout the research process (England, 1994; Willig, 2001). Qualitative research emphasises that the researcher is not detached and objective, but rather is a central figure in the research process. Feminist research acknowledges that issues of value, bias and politics enter and have implications for almost every step of the research process and therefore need to be acknowledged (England, 1994). The

researchers' own subjective understanding of the issues under study, their position in society, their own history and preconceived ideas and biases inevitably influence the results which emerge from the study (England, 1994; McRobbie, 1982; Willig, 2001). Furthermore, the very presence of the researcher, as an audience to participants' stories, may influence the kinds of stories which are told. Greenhalgh (2005, p. 445) suggests that a story is an interaction – “an artistic and rhetorical performance for an audience who (actively or passively) shapes the telling”. Participants alter their stories according to what they perceive the interviewer either expects to hear, what they can bear to hear, or according to how they believe she will interpret what they say (Greenhalgh et al., 2005; Grenz, 2005).

Today writing with reflexivity has become a standard practice in qualitative research, a reflexivity section can be found in most qualitative research reports. Reflexivity is seen to be one of the constituents of “good” qualitative research practice. In fact, it has been suggested that evidence of the researcher's reflexive awareness has become a measure of the “accuracy” or “validity” of qualitative research findings (Greenhalgh et al., 2005; Pillow, 2003; Willig, 2001). However, I argue that one paragraph dedicated to reflexivity at the end of a methodology chapter is not always enough. In the case of this research project, a simple paragraph about my personal characteristics and their influence of the research process may fail to acknowledge the full extent to which I feel my presence has shaped the narratives that men told. I go as far as to suggest that not only did I influence the research process and research findings, but that I was a *part* of the research findings. I propose that some of the narratives and themes that arose from interviews were directly influenced by, even a product of, the unique dynamics of the interview relationship between myself and participants. Thus I felt that it was more appropriate to reflect on these types of reflexivity issues in the main discussion of the research findings in the chapter to follow.

Summary

This chapter has provided an outline and evaluation of the research design. This qualitative research project was informed by feminist research values and structured according to a narrative research design. The core principals of narrative research have been discussed. A description of research participants; the recruitment process; data collection tools and the interview context was provided. Emphasis was placed on the data analysis process which, primarily based on thematic narrative analysis, was enhanced by the culmination of various data

analysis techniques and principals including discourse analysis. An outline of the ethical considerations relevant to the research was presented. Thereafter the various limitations of this particular research design were explored, and both a justification for the use of these methods as well as suggestions for alternative methods was made. Finally the importance of reflexivity within qualitative research was emphasized. Due to the proposed centrality of the researcher's position within the research process, reflexivity will be explored as part of the main discussion of the research findings in the chapter to follow.

Chapter Four: Buying Sex, Identity and Justificatory Narratives

It has already been established that one of the central functions of personal narratives is the construction of selfhood and identity (Crossley, 2000). Through narratives we are able to create versions of ourselves which provide a specific message or are most acceptable to ourselves, to particular audiences and to society as a whole. It is through narrative that we manage, create and recreate our identities. It is thus not surprising, when speaking about an issue as loaded and controversial as paying for sex, that men's narratives were filled with attempts to shape, protect and manage their various identities during interviews. This chapter will explore the ways men constructed themselves, their behaviours and their social identities and roles in relation to their identities as clients. It will begin with a reflection of the participant-interviewer context and will discuss how both the participants and the interviewer attempted to create certain identities and avoided others, and how this affected the narratives to emerge from the interviews. Thereafter the chapter will explore the various discourses and stories participants drew on to explain and justify paying for sex. Throughout the chapter there will be a focus on the relationship between participants' constructions of paying for sex, their broader social identities and dominant discourses of gender and heterosexuality.

4.1. The Dirty Old Man and the Young Feminist Researcher

I thought it relevant to begin the presentation of the research findings with a discussion of the interview-participant relationship, as this was, after all, the context wherefrom all the narratives informing the project emerged. It is no secret that any piece of research is driven, fashioned, inspired and sometimes distorted by the researcher. Therefore, as the researcher, I was a central element in how the knowledge in this research was produced. It thus seemed appropriate that I, instead of remaining anonymous, introduced myself into the research process.

I began my enquiry into the subject of sex work while completing a research project towards my Honours degree in Psychology. For this project I explored street-based sex workers experiences of harm. This very specific sample consisted of 15 black women who, coming from severely impoverished contexts, were already vulnerable members of society and sold sex in

dangerous and difficult circumstances. Although there were some accounts of women attempting to exercise agency and self-empowerment in their lives, generally their narratives were filled with alarming accounts of the severe physical, verbal and sexual abuse that they experienced at the hands of their clients. Although there were stories of clients who treated sex workers with respect, the relationship between the two appeared to be riddled with power imbalances and exploitation. The conclusion of my findings did not portray the clients in a very favourable light. I suggested that, in the case of this specific sample of disempowered women, sex work was very harmful and served to mirror and perpetuate pre-existing power imbalances between men and women in our male dominated society.

After the completion of the project I had the uncomfortable feeling that I had only presented one side of the story. I had largely condemned the men who paid for sex without giving them any voice of their own. A quick review of the literature revealed that I was not the only researcher to have done so, with the voices of clients remaining largely silenced in research into sex work (Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997). It was at this point that I decided to conduct interviews with men who buy sex, in the hope that the interviews would give clients some voice in the matter. I hoped that this research might also, perhaps inadvertently, “explain” or qualify some of my previous findings. I expected some narratives to contain accounts of participants’ violence towards sex workers; I expected some of their narratives to contain discourses that explicitly objectified and undermined women. Furthermore, I anticipated that some participants would treat me in a sexualized or objectifying manner during interviews. This expectation largely arose from a paper written by Grenz (2005) in which she reflects on her experiences of being a female researcher interviewing heterosexual male clients about paying for sex. In and amongst other issues, she noted that some men did not only talk about their sexual needs and desires, but would project them on to her, making her an object of desire and therefore potentially vulnerable. Thus, although I was not completely aware of it at the time, I entered the research process with some specific expectations about both the content and mood of the interviews.

However, I was to be greatly surprised by the outcome of the interviews. I left each interview with a positive perception of the man I had just interviewed; in fact I felt quite a strong affinity towards each of my interviewees. I felt as though all 14 participants treated me with respect and I did not, at any point, feel as though I had been sexualized or objectified. I was not

only surprised by the mood of the interviews, but also by the content. Throughout all 14 interviews I had not collected a single account of violence or abuse. Not a single participant shared a narrative of being verbally abusive or disrespectful to a sex worker. Rather, the interviews were filled with accounts of participants treating sex workers with respect, often playing caring and supportive roles. This interview process left me feeling very confused and asking many questions: why had I felt such an affinity towards each of my interviewees? Why were my participants' accounts so contradictory to my previous findings? Where were the stories of violence and abuse? How had I managed to recruit such "good-natured" clients? It was only after taking a deeper, more critical look into the data that I gained some insight into the dynamics which were responsible for shaping both the relationship between participant and interviewer and the content of men's narratives. This required a scrutiny of my personal motivations and anxieties as well as those of my participants.

In planning the interview process, my primary aim was to conduct interviews in such a way that the participants would feel as free as possible to talk about their experiences, perceptions and behaviours. I felt the best way to achieve this was to create a positive interview environment where participants perceived me to be completely neutral and non-judgmental. However, I realized that being a young feminist psychology student, conducting research in the field of gender and sexuality, there was a large possibility that I would, by default, signify a potential source of judgment or disapproval. I was also conscious of my own views on sex work at the time, as well as being mindful of the research report I had presented a few months earlier which was very critical of men who pay for sex. I was concerned that my participants may "see right through me" and that my mere presence could leave them feeling judged, uncomfortable and thus reluctant to participate in interviews unhindered. In order to counter these perceived risks, I decided it would be imperative for me to communicate a sense of neutrality and a non-judgmental attitude throughout all of the interviews.

My personal anxieties and concerns were clearly reflected in the data. My attempts to be a neutral, accepting and open-minded interviewer were painfully visible within the interview transcripts. For example, in the excerpt below I wanted to ask the participant the simple question: "Have you ever felt guilty about paying women for sex?" Instead of asking the question in a straightforward fashion I asked the question in a circular and confusing manner:

Monique: And from sort of a moral point of view, maybe let's, talking about firstly when you were still married, did you feel guilty or did- because I mean everyone's got a different way of looking at it. You personally, were there feelings of guilt or was it always sort of this is a business transaction?

Above I begin by introducing the question of guilt, but my question is directly followed by a statement which assures the participant that I was not implying that he *should* feel guilty because "everyone's got a different way of looking at it". Not only do I build this disclaimer into my question but I also draw on a market related discourse (which will be discussed later in the chapter) by saying "or was it always sort of this is a business transaction?" This in turn offers the participant an opportunity to opt out or justify his behaviour. Similarly, in the passage below, Mark discloses that he has a moral dilemma with paying for sex.

Mark: It is wrong and I do have a moral dilemma with it.

Monique: And why, 'cause I mean not everyone thinks it's wrong. Why do you think it's wrong?

Instead of asking Mark to elaborate on his feelings of guilt, I again feel the need to assure him that "not everyone thinks it's wrong". Thus it can be seen that as a result of my desire to appear neutral I provided participants with a context that allowed them to construct themselves in a positive light and to justify or sanitize paying for sex.

It is clear that my own insecurities had a powerful influence over the interview process and that they would have shaped my perception of the client, the relationship between interviewer and participant, as well as the content of the interviews. I had largely decided, before the interviews had started, that I would like the participants and not be offended by their views. I provided an environment where the clients could construct themselves as "good clients" and I facilitated their justification of paying for sex.

However, I was not the only party who brought preconceived ideas and insecurities to the interview. Participants entered interviews with their own set of concerns and anxieties. Participants appeared to be equally concerned with the way they were perceived by me (and assumingly the broader audience which I signified) during the interviews. I suggest that participants actively selected narratives and presented themselves in ways that distanced them from a "dirty old man" identity. The "dirty old man" discourse is associated with men's sexuality

during old age and it deems an active sexuality or the expression of sexual desire during old age to be inappropriate or dirty (Sandberg, 2011). But why would discourses related to old men's sexuality affect the men in my sample?

Although most of the participants were not "old men" in the true sense, in comparison to me, a young female student, they may have felt comparatively older. Participants may thus have partially identified with an older man identity and simultaneously positioned me in the role of the young girl or woman. This speculated positioning of me, as the researcher, in the role of the young girl and participants as the older man was substantiated throughout many of the interviews, with Steven's extract below, being just one example.

Steven: Yeah, look well ja. You're obviously very young, you're not married or anything like that, so.

In addition to being older than me, participants were speaking about a type of sex (paid sex) which is still largely associated with "dirty sex" in our society, or at least is seen to be the opposite of the "good" or "wholesome" sex occurring within the auspices of a loving and committed relationship. Thus it is not surprising that the participants may have, to some extent, identified or grappled with the identity of the "dirty old man". Throughout participants' narratives there were many examples of how they tried to reject this identity as well as how they grappled with, negotiated and acknowledged how the "dirty old man" identity could apply to them.

One of the ways participants distanced themselves from the "dirty old man" discourse was to behave as respectably as possible towards me during interviews. All of the participants behaved politely and chivalrously, many participants pulled out a chair for me at the coffee shop or offered to pay the bill after the interview. Similarly, Presser (2004), in her interviews with violent men, noted that all the participants in her study displayed some form of chivalry towards her. She understood this chivalry as a popular way of "doing gender" in the interview. Later in this chapter I will discuss the ways in which participants in this study "did gender" through their narratives.

Participants were often cautious of the language they used during interviews with me. Sandberg suggests that the sexual content of her research was an issue men had to negotiate and handle in various ways. She noted that several men tried to avoid being regarded as perverted by

saying things such as “I’m not an exhibitionist” or “I hope this was not too detailed” during the interviews (Sandberg, 2011, p. 77). Similarly, I found that many participants checked that the content of their stories, as well as the language they chose, was appropriate and inoffensive to me. This may have been an attempt to communicate a sense of respect towards me and also to remove themselves from the “dirty old man” character, who would presumably take the use of strong language or sexual vernacular in front of women for granted.

John: And in those three years I was actually very good, I don’t think I did anybody else, I don’t think I did...sorry, is it ok if I use that kind of language?

Zade: Life circumstances sometimes they just happen, I think they [sighs]. And then obviously it’s the money at the end of the day, I mean some people really get paid a shitload, sorry about saying shit, but I mean they get paid a lot.

Men also distanced themselves from the “dirty old man” persona by playing down how regularly they made use of sex workers. Some participants did this explicitly, for instance, Collin stated “I’m not a regular or anything” and Dirk suggested that he had only ever bought sex once (although his narratives throughout the interview suggest that he had had multiple experiences with sex workers). There were also many instances where participants used language to distance themselves from the client role more implicitly. For example, Peter introduced his narrative of entry into sex work with “Now, I must think back...” suggesting that his decision to become a client was a distant memory, a part of his past self, and not relevant to his present self.

Other participants attempted to actively reject the “dirty old man” persona by explicitly selecting narratives which communicated to me that they were “not that type of client”, that they were different to the “dirty” or perverted client. Below Zade clearly distinguishes himself from the perverted “freaky” client who likes “weird” things:

Zade:... But I never, I’d never, I’m not like a freaky person or things like that I don’t like, you know want all these extra weird things that people do and stuff. So for me it was just plain sex and that’s it. Um so I was never like, I wouldn’t say that I was like dominant to them or would be uh, you know, ungentlemanly-like or anything like that. Nothing, I mean I’ve seen porn and I’ve seen what people do, that, not, not stuff like that, no um.

Participants also distanced themselves from the “dirty client” identity by splitting sex work into two categories namely, “good” or “clean” and “bad” or “dirty”. The most common way participants did this was to distinguish between street-based sex work and agency or home-based sex-work. The majority of the participants (9) were adamant that they only patronised non street-based sex workers. All of these participants constructed street based sex work as “dirty”, disgusting and as something that they would never partake in. Conversely, they constructed the types of sex workers they did patronise as much cleaner and more respectable.

Mark: Sex work and prostitution is, is there, there, there is, that does exist. I think escorting and the higher class type of sex worker. I, I, I prefer to call them vice girls. Because they’re actually not- You know what, there’s a whole connotation associated to prostitutes. You, you say prostitute and what do you, what do you see? Girl on the street, short miniskirts, high heels picking up dudes in driving cars, in cars driving past. And to me that is totally off-putting. Totally off-putting, that’s gross I would never do that. So when I say vice girl, I mean like a girl who’s got the money to advertise on a website firstly.

Mark, in his attempt to split the two types of sex work, goes as far as to employ different terminology for street-based “prostitutes” and upper class “vice girls”. This allows him to completely distance himself from the “dirty” stigma commonly attached to sex workers on the street and associate only with what he sees as more acceptable, upper class women. Similarly, in the following passage, Henk jokingly reassures me that he does not have AIDS, because protection is guaranteed with agency based sex workers.

Henk: Don’t you want some [of the scone]?

Monique: No thank you.

Henk: Are you sure?

Monique: I’ve already had lunch thanks.

Henk: You don’t have to worry I don’t have AIDS hey, [Interviewer laughs] I check myself. And that’s another thing, protection’s guaranteed, you have to. There’s no way about it.

Monique: I’ve also heard that [from] a lot of people, that’s one of the reasons they like agencies because it’s very um...

Henk: It’s well protected, ja. I think a girl on the street, if you paying a hundred rand and you don’t use a condom and you give her fifty rand she’s gonna go for it. That’s what I think. Because they’re desperate out there, they’re desperate.

This narrative again suggests that the type of sex workers participants patronised were clean and healthy whereas street sex-based workers were dirty and diseased. This narrative also reflects Henk's concern that I might associate him with sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS because of his identity as a client, again illustrating participant's concern with being perceived as "dirty" during interviews

Perhaps the most explicit indication that men were in fact aware of and sensitive to the "dirty old man" association was the way in which this discourse fleetingly appeared in their self-descriptions:

Collin: So ja. Sort of dodgy people. That's what, that's what gets you with the guilt as well. I am that? Am I that dodgy?

John: One, I enjoy sex tremendously. I think part of it, that's number one. And the other thing is, I think it's still a self-esteem thing, I think I've never really got over it. Now, some people say ah bullshit, that's a cop-out, you know you just a nasty dirty, sexy old man, who likes to fuck women, which is true though [laughs]. Well I think part of it is, I think it's I'm searching for something that I'll never find you know.

In the excerpts above Collin describes himself as "dodgy" and John partially attributes his paying for sex to being a "nasty dirty, sexy old man". Through this type of language it was clear that men were conscious of this notion of being a "dirty old man", and that some had begun to internalise this identity. Exploring men's motives and concerns reflected in their narratives, in addition to my own influence on the interview process, shed further light on my initial confusion surrounding the outcome of the interview process: Both participants and I attempted to create a certain perception of ourselves and attempted to avoid another. Just as I tried to avoid being seen as judgemental during interviews, participants resisted being perceived as "dirty old men".

I chose to begin the presentation of results by reflecting on these interview-participant dynamics because the insights derived from scrutinising this relationship became the point of departure for the rest of my analysis. It was at this point that most of the confusion, which I experienced after the initial data collection, was resolved. It is hardly surprising that I experienced a positive reaction towards participants. I had decided, before the interviews commenced, that I would adopt an accepting attitude towards them and consequently provided a context which facilitated them in constructing a positive image of themselves. It made perfect sense that men did not treat me in a sexualised manner and that their narratives did not contain

accounts of violence and other condemning evidence, as men wanted to remove themselves from negative associations, such as the “dirty old man” or the “freaky client”. In agreement with Presser’s (2005) findings I realised that the interview context provided participants with certain resources for constructing themselves as good and manly. It was at this point that I realised that I would neither be finding evidence of abusive behaviour in men’s narratives, nor would I be finding support for my previous research in men’s narratives. I was reminded that I had never set out to produce a set of facts pertaining to the characteristics or behaviours of clients of sex workers. As Presser (2005, p. 2087) suggests, “the researcher’s goal is not to emancipate the authentic story of the narrator-none exists”. Indeed, personal narratives are not necessarily a reflection of fact, but rather they are a strategic tool, used by the teller to construct, negotiate and manage their identities. In speaking about how they paid for sex men used these interviews to construct, negotiate and justify their client identities in ways which were most acceptable to me, the perceived audience and to themselves.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss various strategies participants employed to negotiate and manage their identities and position themselves as favourably as possible. In managing these identities, participants relied on a number of justifications and explanation for paying for sex. Despite the fact that I never once asked participants to explain or justify why they paid sex workers to have sex with them, every participant felt it important to offer multiple explanations. Just as previous research on men’s constructions of violence within heterosexual relationships (O’Neill, 1998; Shefer, Strelbel, & Foster, 2000; van Niekerk, 2010) have found, participants in the current study drew upon a number of social and cultural norms as support for their explanations of paying for sex. The section to follow explores how various discourses provide men with certain ways of talking about, constructing and positioning themselves in relation to sex work and their clienthood.

4.2 Market Orientated Discourse

Perhaps one of the most striking similarities across participants’ narratives was the presence of a market orientated discourse. This discourse draws on the notions of sex being a commodity which can be traded like any other. It constructs the purchasing of sex as a transaction between the buyer and the seller (Niemi, 2010). Indeed, words like “bargained” “transaction” “service” “exchange” “business” “clientele” “customer” “contract” “product”

“career” “profession” “service provider” “shopped around” “menu” and “trade” were present throughout each and every interview transcript. Niemi (2010) suggests that the language of commercial sex has infiltrated both our everyday talk as well as legal language on the topic, thus this substantial presence of a market related discourse is not surprising. It has become the dominant and natural way of talking about the exchange of sex for money. Participants’ constant use of a market related discourse was also noted in the majority of qualitative research studies exploring men’s accounts of paying for sex (Bernstein, 2001; Chen, 2005; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997; Milrod & Weitzer, 2012; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997; Sanders, 2008). Below are some examples that reflect the presence of market related discourse in participants’ talk.

Steven: No, no. That’s the big difference between this and having an affair. Where this ultimately still stays a business transaction.

Zade: But sex is cool, I mean it’s awesome, it’s a product.

Gert: Well the, the key to business is making the customer feel like he’s in control you know that’s, that’s the key to any businesses - being in control but creating the impression that the customer’s in control. ...Obviously um, in the end you’re there for something specific and the lady’s there for something very specific and as long as both gets what they want in, in the most efficient way possible then there shouldn’t be issues.

Merely attributing participants’ heavy reliance on market related language to it being the dominant discourse on the issue would fail to reveal the function and purpose of their language and narratives. Niemi (2010, p. 160) suggests that a market orientated discourse is “by no means innocent”. She suggests that it serves to neutralize and sanitize the sex work industry and allows issues relating to morality or the exploitation of women through sex work to be swept under the carpet or rendered irrelevant. In taking a deeper look at participants’ narratives, a pattern began to emerge. It became clear that certain preceding discussions elicited certain types of narratives. Market related language most commonly emerged in participants’ narratives when the question of morality or the exploitative nature of sex work was raised, either by me or by the participants themselves. It appeared that a primary purpose of drawing on market related discourse was to justify or explain why they paid for sex. Drawing on concepts such as the neutral exchange of a product between consenting business actors allowed participants to construct sex work, and

thus their identities as clients, in the most neutral, non-exploitative way possible. A market related discourse allowed participants to align themselves closer to a “good client” identity and further from negative identities associated with paying for sex such as the identity of the “dirty old man” or the exploitative villain.

In the excerpt below I introduce the question of whether paying for sex could be seen as morally “problematic”.

Monique: And the whole aspect of like, paying someone for sex, you don’t find that, that’s not a problematic aspect for you?

Gert: [Sighs] Not really no.

Monique: No I mean, again people have

Gert: Um, why should that be different than any other service? Pay the plumber, you pay the electrician, you pay the gardener. It’s just a service they render. Uh but that goes back to me having the viewpoint that it will, there shouldn’t be any relationship thing attached to it. It’s about that, the experience for that time and that’s it.

My use of the term “problematic” immediately elicits a response from Gert which is rich in market-related discourse. By comparing paying for sex with paying for any other service, Gert is quickly able to reject any question of exploitation and justify paying for sex. In the interview excerpt below it is the participant who introduces questions of morality and abuse. Similarly, in the text below Collin shares a narrative about the internal dialogue he engages in, reflecting on the kinds of moral questions and dilemmas he is confronted with.

Collin: And that’s what got to me as well. It’s like, oh, this is wrong. This is terrible. How can you abuse someone like that? How can they let themselves? Is it abuse? No, it’s not. It’s an offer, it’s a transaction, there’s a financial agreement. One of the oldest professions in the book. Um...

Monique: So for you, that’s how you see it? It is, it is a transaction, like a neutral

Collin: Yes, yes. It is a service it is a, um. And it’s a worthwhile service. It’s out there for, why has it stood the test of time?

The narrative illustrates how Collin goes through a process whereby he addresses question of the morality of paying for sex. At first he condemns himself, saying that paying for sex is “wrong” and “terrible” and actually labels himself as abusive. Then his narrative slowly begins to change. By questioning how sex workers could “let” themselves be abused, he begins to speak about sex work from more of a choice perspective. Collin then, in order to disqualify his

previous statements, switches over to a market related discourse and reduces the relationship between client and sex worker to a professional and neutral business transaction. As part of his justification, he draws on the widely accepted saying “prostitution is the oldest profession in the world” which, in itself, draws on market related language to validate the existence of sex work. He is one of five participants to use this phrase during interviews.

Speaking about sex and the purchasing thereof as though it were a product like any other is a dominant way to talk about the sex work industry, both in legal discourse and our everyday talk. Thus it is not surprising that this market related discourse was heavily present in each and every participant’s narrative. However, participants’ use of it in interviews clearly served a particular function, it allowed for questions around the morality of paying for sex to be negated which thus neutralized and justified their paying for sex.

4.3 The Good Client

Another dominant narrative to emerge out of interviews was that of “the good client”. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, participants primarily selected narratives that both positioned them in the role of the “good client” and distanced them from the negative connotations associated with paying sex workers for sex. As with the use of market discourse, men were most likely to use narratives of the “good client” at points in the interview where the morality of paying for sex was in some way questioned. Thus, I argue that the use of “the good client” narrative was yet another strategy aimed at justification as it allowed participants to construct their client identities in the most acceptable light possible. Participants utilized different types of narratives to illustrate the ways in which they were “good clients”.

4.3.1 The “other” client. One such strategy was to distinguish themselves from “other” clients who were abusive or predatory. Participants told of the violence or abuse that sex workers had to endure at the hands of “other” clients and then clearly distinguished themselves from such clients. In the examples below Edwin and Jonah paint the picture of two distinctive types of clients, the “bad client” and themselves – the “good client”.

Jonah: Yes! Sometime, I find another one [sex worker], I take her to my place one day, then she calls, then she said to me, “you are a nice guy because some of them, they can do everything to you, after that they say go, without even pay you, they can harass you,

they can fight with you, say go, go go”. You see that’s what they say. And also they say some of the guys, they can steal also, something from them.

Monique: And so if you asked for something specific, whatever it may be, would the, would the woman say no if she’s, if she’s not keen to do that or would she just go with it? Do they have sort of ...

Edwin: They, they, no they, I mean they will if they don’t want anything, something then they say no.

Monique: And they’ll say no and there’s not much you can do about it?

Edwin: Well ja. Well I, I accept it I mean you know. I’m sure that the other guys out there that is like “fuck you I mean, I want what I want and, you know, you’re gonna give it to me, I’m paying you, you don’t have a choice”, kind of thing. But with ja, no, it’s like I, I accept it, I mean you know.

Both participants paint a picture of the bad client: Jonah tells of the type of client who is verbally abusive, harasses women, cheats them out of their money and steals from them; Edwin tells of the type of client who believes he has the right to demand whatever he wants from sex workers. Both participants then present contrasting constructions of themselves as the “good client”. Jonah tells how a sex worker had told him that he was a “nice guy”, this statement was not qualified by his actions, but purely by the fact that some of her other clients were bad. Similarly, Edwin tells of how, unlike other clients, he “accepts” and respects the woman’s wishes. Both Gottzén (2013) and Wood (2004), in their research into the subjectivities of men who have been violent towards their partners, found a similar tendency among the men they interviewed. Participants tended to separate themselves from other violent men. They differentiated between their violence and other men’s violence. Other men’s violence was always seen to be more “real”, extensive, systematic or intentional than their own. Just as the men in this study constructed themselves as different from the “bad” or “dirty” client, the men in Gottzén and Wood’s studies tended to construct themselves as men who had only been violent a few times whereas other men were constructed as “real batterers” or inherently violent men.

Participants’ narratives about the “good client” could also be argued to be examples of men displaying alternative versions of masculinity in interviews. Boonzaier and De La Rey (2004) in their research on violent men, report that although men evidently conformed to traditional discourses of the hegemonic man during interviews, they also told narratives where they challenged or resisted traditional gender norms. Similarly, van Niekerk (2010, p. 101), in her interviews with men who had been violent to their intimate partners, noted narratives where

men actively resisted traditional gender norms and positioned themselves as supportive of the empowerment of women and as being in favour of the “discourse of egalitarianism”. However, van Niekerk noted that, despite their seemingly egalitarian talk, men still used authoritative language in support of their arguments during interviews. She suggests that men still subtly drew on a discourse of hegemonic masculinity to allow their subjectivities of male authority to emerge in their “egalitarian talk”.

With this in mind, it could be suggested that by telling stories featuring themselves as the “good client” or positioning themselves as different to “other” clients, participants too were resisting traditional gender norms and negative images associated with clients. Today the current ideological climate (depicted through mediums such as current magazine articles on sex or self-help sex manuals) favours a more egalitarian sexuality (Farvid & Braun, 2006; Kaminer & Dixon, 1995). Thus it would not be surprising that these overt forms of an “egalitarian” discourse were present in participants’ narratives. For example, in the excerpt of Edwin’s interview above, I enquire about who is in control of the sexual activities within the client-sex worker relationship. By telling me how he permits the woman to be in control, he allows for equal distribution of power between him and sex workers. He thus constructs the client-sex worker relationship in a seemingly egalitarian way, and positions himself as a respectful “good” client. However, he then goes on to say that other men might say “fuck you I mean, I want what I want and, you know, you’re gonna give it to me”. He thus simultaneously reasserts male dominance through suggesting that, even though he chooses not to do so, as paying customers, clients *could* assume power and assert their sex right over sex workers’ bodies. Thus, as found by van Niekerk (2010), even in a narrative where this participant draws on egalitarian discourse and seems to be resisting the subject position of the hegemonic man, he simultaneously reasserts his position of dominance over sex workers in more subtle ways.

4.3.2 The humane client. Other narratives of “the good client” were based on the way participants claimed they “saw” or treated sex workers, these participants were good clients because they treated sex workers “like human beings” rather than in a dehumanizing way.

Edwin: I would say that at first there were feelings of guilt ‘cause I mean, like I said, I mean I’ve only, you know I’ve changed way of thinking after moving into [Suburb in Cape Town] and interacting with these women that actually. There’s nothing, there’s nothing to be ashamed of, you know, I don’t -I, I, I will have them in my house and if my

sister or whoever came to visit me I wouldn't tell them to, you know, go sit in the room or, you know, leave through the back door. I'd be happy having them there because they are, they are people and they're my friends so, you know.

Above Edwin's justificatory strategy is evident as he admits that he did experience "feelings of guilt", but later realized that there was "nothing to be ashamed of" because of the humane way in which he treated sex workers. He suggests that he did not have to feel guilty about being a client because he welcomed these sex workers into his home and allowed them to become integrated into his personal life in the same way he would any other friend. Ironically, these types of narratives could be argued to actually dehumanize sex workers. Edwin tells how he "has them" in his house and does not tell "them" to go out of the room or leave out the back door. Each time I read this narrative it elicits, in my mind, a picture of dogs whose masters allow them to stay in the house instead of being chased outside when visitors arrive. Although Edwin's narratives represented the most explicit example, numerous participants' narratives contained similar examples of men treating sex workers "like" human beings.

4.3.3 The supportive client. Men also chose to tell specific stories about their *actions*, which allowed them to construct themselves as "good clients". Many participants seemed to justify paying for sex by offering descriptions of themselves as playing supportive roles in sex workers' lives. The form of support participants commonly referred to was the very aspect that made them clients in the first place – money. As the two excerpts below will illustrate, a popular justificatory strategy amongst participants was to suggest that by paying sex workers for sex they were contributing towards the wellbeing of these women's children. The notion of providing support to young children seemed to put men at ease about paying these women for sex. In the excerpt below where I ask John whether paying women who lived in poverty for sex could be seen as exploitation, he simply suggests that if it weren't for paying customers, sex workers' children would die.

John: I very much take your point, I take it on board and I agree with you. But look at something else, what's their alternatives, what if those guys weren't there, they gonna die, or the kids are gonna die, which is the lesser of the two evils?

Mark provided a much more elaborate description of a long-term arrangement he had with a 23 year old woman.

Mark: I give her airtime, I pay her like a little monthly fee cause she, she's also a young girl she's twenty-three. And she's got a young child and she's seriously in need. And I don't always feel obliged with her now you see because I kind of just give her an allowance monthly which helps her feed her child. Which takes the moral dilemma away for me, to a certain extent. Sometimes I go like two months without even having sex with her...

... We've kind of, we're pretty open as well, we talk about it and we say listen it just can't be. I'm here to support you until you find your knight in shining armour or your prince charming and you tell me listen, and that's up to you, you tell me okay it's over cadavers now it's quits. Okay. 'Till you find that person, hey let me stick around, I can help you out, you can help me out.

In his description of their relationship, Mark constructs himself as the provider of both this woman and her child and is willing to openly acknowledge that this reduces the moral dilemma attached to paying for sex. There seems to be an almost paternalistic tone to his narrative, as he constructs himself as a genuine, caring man who offers support to this “young girl” and her child in the form of a “monthly fee” and airtime. Mark constructs himself as a selfless provider who will support her until she finds her “knight in shining armour”. This construction of the client could not be further from the violent, abusive image of clients often reported by sex workers themselves in research into sex work (Bucardo, 2004; Church, Henderson, Barnard, & Hart, 2001; Dalla, 2000, 2002, 2006; Elmore-Meegan et al., 2004; Farley et al., 1998; Farley, 2004; Gysels, Pool, & Nnalusiba, 2002; Halland, 2010; Huysamen, 2011; McKeganey & Barnard, 1996; Miller, 2002; Monto, 2004; Okal et al., 2011; Raphael & Shapiro, 2004; Ribeiro & Sacramento, 2005; Sanders, 2004; Stadler & Delany, 2006; Tutty & Nixon, 2002; Wechsberg et al., 2005; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). Instead of conjuring up the image of the unpleasant or exploitative client, listening to Mark's narrative left me thinking “what a nice guy” and initially made me wonder whether there really was anything wrong with this kind of transaction. Of course, Mark had successfully managed to construct himself as the good client, and presented paying for sex in a way that was unobjectionable to me and perhaps his wider audience.

Participants utilized narratives of the “good client” in order to construct themselves and their client identities in the most favourable light possible. As previously discussed, one of the key functions of the narrative is identity management. This sentiment is clearly explicated through participants' “good client” narratives. Be it through distancing themselves from “other”

bad clients; telling how they treated women humanely; or constructing themselves as providers and supporters of sex workers, participants used these narratives to avoid feelings of guilt and to justify paying for sex.

4.4 Discourses of Choice versus Constraint

The question of choice versus constraint has been covered at length and is highly debated in research on sex work (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001). It has already been discussed that radical and liberal feminists draw on opposing discourses of choice and constraint in their construction of sex work. The question of whether women's entry into sex work was due to factors of choice or constraint was closely linked to how participants in this study defined their decision to pay for sex. The way in which participants constructed sex workers' entry and presence in the sex work industry had direct implications for how they could construct their own identities as clients.

Most participants attributed women's entry into sex work as being due to both choice and constraint variables, suggesting that some women entered prostitution out of desperation, whereas others sold sex as a choice. Most participants in this study displayed a relatively accurate understanding of the factors of constraint contributing to women entering into sex work in South Africa, commonly mentioning variables such as poor education levels, lack of employment opportunities and single parenthood. At the same time, most participants were also adamant that some women entered and remained in the sex work industry as a choice. They commonly suggested that these women chose sex work above other professions available to them as it provided a larger (or additional) income. More specifically, men openly acknowledged that some women were forced to sell sex, however they were adamant that the women *they* paid for sex were not forced into sex work, but rather chose it as the more lucrative and enjoyable career option. The question of whether or not women chose a life of sex work was essential to the construction of their client identities. If women were forced into sex work out of desperation then they, as clients, could potentially be deemed to be taking advantage of or seen as exploiting these women. Conversely, if the women were selling sex because they chose to do so, it was easier for them justify being a client and construct it in a neutral light.

This dual construction of sex workers as either entering out of choice or out of constraint is elucidated in the passage below where Mark tells me about one of the women he bought sex from regularly.

Mark: Definitely, definitely we've chatted a hell of a lot and, and ja. She doesn't do it purely for the money.

Monique: Is it?

Mark: She doesn't have to do it for the money. She works, she has a full time job.

Monique: Okay so this is.

Mark: She moonlights doing this. Because, okay the money's good it's attractive, it's very good. Um, she's extremely high class so she charges a shite-load of money but she um, she only see like one or two guys a week and ja.

Monique: So for her it's a choice.

Mark: For her it's, it's a choice it's not a necessity ja I would say definitely, definitely. She could give it up, she's got kids, she could give it up right now. 'Cause she's pretty stable in whatever else she's doing, ja.

Monique: Alright that's interesting. And in general um, why do you think the women do it?

Mark: I think as, as, as you said some women do it out of choice and money is always the factor, trust me extra income when times are tough is handy. Some women do it out of necessity, pure necessity. Some girls or women do it purely because they have to, they have no choice, they need to make ends meet and they need to get by and they have to live somehow, they have needs and they do it. And I'm saying needs in terms of, some are total train wrecks. Needs in terms of drug habits and the like, those are needs none the less. Others have other needs, family, kids, no job. So there is a lot of compassion involved as well, I'm a very compassionate person and sometimes, you know, I get to a place and I see - and by the way I don't do it too often [laughs]. No not, really not. I get to a place and I see yus, I just don't feel comfortable doing this. But then you can see the chick's like, just take the bucks and just let me, you know, I'll just get out of here whatever, you know I'm not- you know I'm very picky, I'm particular with what I want to do. But I also don't mind helping a mother in need. I mean geez, come on. If, if, if we could all just bear in mind that everybody's human hey.

Mark constructs the sex worker's entry and continued presence in sex work in terms of absolute choice. He then juxtapositions this story of choice and agency with a story about the other type of women, the type who is forced by her circumstances into sex work, constructing her entry into sex work in terms of utter constraint and desperation. Finally to solidify the point that he is not a client of women who remain in sex work out of constraint, he tells a story of how he arrives at the house of a woman whom he can tell is selling sex out of desperation and not choice, and instead of having sex with her, he just gives her the money and leaves. Thus through

this narrative he is able to construct himself not as the exploitative client, but rather as the philanthropic and socially responsible man.

Despite the realistic accounts of the constraints affecting women in South Africa, this notion of the women entering sex work out of choice and not constraint remained a prominent feature amongst men's narratives. Interestingly, even when presented with contradictory evidence, some participants still insisted that the women they paid for sex did so as a matter of choice and not constraint.

Keith: For her it was a choice. As she said, she won't do it again now, but um, at the time, her first husband who she's got a child with, he was a drug addict and he committed suicide. And he had sold all her stuff like drug addicts do. And she needed stuff. So she set herself up as a hooker. And she had a set number of guys who, once she got to that number she only serviced them. And she had no problems with it and she had a high sex drive.

In the excerpt above Keith, in telling me about the sex worker he regularly paid for sex, makes a clear statement of her choice to enter sex work. Ironically, he contradicts himself immediately thereafter by presenting a number of constraining factors present in her life, which are commonly associated with entry into sex work, such as death of a partner; the presence of a young dependent; or financial desperation (Dalla, 2000, 2002; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). He appears to be oblivious to this contradiction he has just presented.

4.5 Male Sex Drive Discourse

Participants also attributed their paying for sex to forces out of their control, the most common being the male sex drive. The male sex drive discourse, as proposed by Hollway (2001), was one of the most prevalent discourses in the participants' talk about both their paying for sex and their sexuality in general. As described in the literature review, the male sex drive discourse assumes that men have a heightened sex drive, and thus are biologically destined to have a greater need for sex. Thus clients justified paying for sex by constructing it as a mere function of their manhood— they were clients because they had a high sex drive, and they had a high sex drive because they were men. This can be linked to Monto and McRee's (2005)'s "every man" perspective which implies that the client is no different to every other man. Hart (1994), in her ethnographic study on sex work in a community in Spain, also found that many of

the participants, informed by a male sex drive discourse, assumed clienthood and manhood to be synonymous.

The examples below explicate how participants constructed their sexuality as urgent, powerful and, perhaps most significantly, as uncontrollable.

John: I love sex, it's what drives us [men], it's one of the biggest driving forces in our lives and I think probably more so than most of us realise.

Ian: Ja, getting rid of sexual tension because I'm a very hyperactive person and with that and being very sexual if I don't get that release then it turns into negative where I start acting irrational, I lose my temper too quickly. And go rather, I mean go out have some fun get another woman and release that tension and then come home and ja.

John constructs men in an almost passive position, as being "driven" or controlled by their sexuality. Ian, like many participants, draws on the construct of sexual tension or sexual frustration to justify being a client. He explains that without the relief he gets from paying for sex, his behaviour would become irrational and uncontrollable. In both of these examples participants construct their sexuality as something which dictated their behaviour and controlled them to some degree.

Participants also drew heavily on the assumed biological basis of their urgent need for sex. Men did not take responsibility for, or ownership of, their desire for sex but rather constructed it as something which was controlled by their male biological functions, the most common being high testosterone levels. In the excerpt below Peter constructs himself as a victim of his own biology.

Peter: Just, I mean, I've even tried the other way. Um can I go to the doctor and get an injection for lower testosterone levels? Funny enough you can get medication to increase your testosterone, but not, no.

Monique: Interesting.

Peter: People tell you that male's testosterone levels start dropping at forty. I'm extremely active, I'm forty-four, I don't have that. I jog a couple of kilometres. Maybe it's my downfall. Maybe it sustains me.

Thus it can be seen that the way in which men constructed their sexuality runs parallel to Hollway's conception on the male sex drive discourse. Making use of this kind of discourse made paying for sex easily justifiable. By paying for sex men were merely meeting a biological need like any other. Drawing on the male sex drive discourse also allowed them to distance

themselves from negative conceptions of being a client– they were not clients because they were the “peculiar man” who suffered from psychological inadequacy, rather they were clients because they had sexual needs like “every man”.

Although participants most commonly constructed paying for sex in terms of the male sex drive, some participants did attribute it to other types of forces outside of their control. Nazeem, for instance, constructed his client identity very differently to most participants. He constructed paying for sex in terms of addiction:

Nazeem: Actually I don't know how I started doing it. It was, I think it was relating to something other than actually wanting to do it. You see I, I lived in [suburb in Cape Town] like, a stone's throw away from the main road, that's when I was first exposed to it.

Nazeem: I mean I'm married. I've had relationships before; you know quite long-term relationships. Married for seven years but I still, I just can't, I just can't stop. For me it's like, it's not, it's not sexual you know what I mean. It's like here in my brain, it's not down here by my neck down [points to crotch]. It's not there. It's like it's got to be satisfied here [points to head] for some crazy reason. I just feel like this is a mind thing especially.

Just like most other participants, Nazeem did blame his use of sex workers on factors out of his control (“something other than actually wanting to do it”). However, Nazeem did not rely on a biological sex drive discourse in constructing or justifying paying for sex. Moreover, he actually rejected it. For Nazeem, as is so clearly depicted in the text above, the driving force behind paying for sex for him was not his penis, but his mind. He paid for sex not because of normal male sex drive, but due to a pathological condition, an addiction. Where most men attributed being clients to the fact that they were “every man”, Nazeem constructs his client identity in terms of deficit or pathology. In his mind, he was a client not because he was every man, but because he was a sick man, because he suffered from an addiction:

Nazeem: At first I used to drive around for hours just looking and then eventually I, I sort of decided okay, that's when I started. And then it became a habit, actually now it's an addiction.

Nazeem: I can't really put my finger on it. Why is it like, because I-I can, I can have sexual intercourse and then like two, three hours later then this need, this other need, so it

sort of takes hold and that needs to be satisfied...And then I just have to, you know, I succumb to it all the time.

The manner in which Nazeem positioned himself as a passive victim or an object of his clienthood which he constructed as a powerful force which he had no control over, is reflected through his strategic use of language throughout his interview. Nazeem speaks of how he was first “exposed” to sex work; how the need “takes hold” of and “consumes” him and is something he has to “succumb to”. By positioning himself as sick individual he was able to divert any distaste or negative perceptions he may have had of the sex work industry away from himself and onto the “addiction”. Through relying on a disease discourse Nazeem was able to position himself as an object of his clienthood and thus avoid taking any responsibility for paying sex workers for sex despite being married. Although Nazeem’s disease narrative is so contradictory to most other participants’ male sex drive narratives, there is a common thread which runs through all of these narratives and that is the participants’ tendency to use their narratives to avoid responsibility and remove or divert the blame for their decisions to pay for sex.

Whether it was a male sex drive discourse, or a discourse of disease or pathology participants constructed themselves, instead of agentive subjects of their clienthood, as men who were objects of the sex work industry. It was through the use of these discourses that men were able to explain them being clients of sex workers and position themselves favourably in relationship to it.

4.6 Marriage, Male Sex Drive and the Hegemonic Man

Marriage was a significant subject in the narratives of participants who were or had been married. Men’s narratives about buying sex and being married provided insight into how men constructed not only their identities as clients, but also their marriages, their wives and their identities as husbands and fathers. The next subsection will discuss the various ways participants justified and made sense of paying for sex in relation to their other social identities as heterosexual men, husbands and fathers.

4.6.1 Splitting. Research into men’s construction of their heterosexual relationships suggests that they tend to construct women dualistically (Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Hollway, 2001; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). Men tend to split women into two distinctive types, the Madonna

versus the whore or the wife versus the mistress (Hollway, 2001; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003). It is thus not surprising that this kind of splitting would feature in participants' talk about sex workers. This type of dualistic construction was most regularly employed amongst married men, as yet another way of making sense of or justifying their paying for sex outside of their marriages. Participants, in keeping with the Madonna versus whore dualism, tended to construct their wives and sex workers as polar opposites. In the passages below Mark and Steven construct their wives as the Madonna figure, as pure and conservative, as a "life partner" and as someone who should be "respected" and treated like a "queen".

Mark: Ja, I don't have too much of a moral issue with it. You know what, if I need variety and need, needs, I love my wife I don't want to tell her, "listen pack your bags and sod off". I'd rather keep her and have her in that position on a pedestal up there like my queen, and do my dirty deed somewhere else.

Steven: Where if you're with a sex worker [sighs] it's different, the positions are different. Uh, there might be oral involved, there might not be oral involved you know it's just completely different. It's, it's comparing an apple to a pear or something like that.

Monique: So it's different in the sense that there's more variety?

Steven: lots different, more variety. I don't think you'll feel comfortable to tell your wife that you'd like to do that you know. Because you respect her you know, I mean it's your life partner, that's what you do. Where a sex worker, you won't find a problem that if you wanted to do something else and you tell her, because that's ultimately what you're paying for, um to her whether she agrees to do it or not. But where I think, with your life partner it's more like a thing of respect. So that's a big difference, I think.

Participants clearly wanted to maintain a distinction between their "Madonna's" and the "whores" they paid for sex. Through paying sex workers, participants could demand and engage in a different, "dirtier" kind of sex than the sex they had with their wives. This type of sex might include adventurous sexual positions and sexual acts such as oral or anal sex. Therefore patronizing sex workers meant that men could fulfil their desire to do the "dirty deed" but at the same time separate their wives from these kinds of activities. This, in turn, allowed their wives to be kept "on a pedestal" where they could remain respected and would retain their pure Madonna identity. Thus participants justified paying for sex by drawing on social constructions of female sexuality, suggesting they were upholding their wives' dignity.

4.6.2 Marriage and male sex drive. Participants also drew on popular constructions of male sexuality in order to explain or justify paying for sex in light of their marriages. Although the sex drive discourse was clearly evident throughout most participants' talk, it was most regularly employed by married men. There was a clear sense of sexual entitlement in the talk of married men. Men seemed to accept that they had a fundamental right to obtain regular sex from their wives. Many participants took it for granted that if a wife did not sexually satisfy her husband he had a right to seek sex elsewhere.

Edwin: And with my second marriage, I mean you know, we're kind of still in the same in the house, living together. We were trying to get the house sold and I had a need for sex so went to [suburb in Cape Town] and, you know, picked up the occasional woman on the road.

In the passage above Edwin spells it out in very simple terms: He and his wife were no longer having sex, he had a need for sex, and he thus went and picked up sex workers from the street. His matter-of-fact tone reflects the extent to which a sex drive discourse was entrenched in his understanding of his sexuality. He makes no attempt to explain to me why he had "a need for sex" he assumes that I would understand, as a universal truth, that this is a biological need, just like food or water.

The excerpt from Jonah's interview, which follows, reflects even more clearly participants' sense of entitlement; they perceived it to be their right to demand sex from their wives.

Jonah: Ja, my first experience, it was, eh, it happened like, my wife, she had miscarriage first time, then after she had the miscarriage eh, we tried to, to having sex with her, she refused. Started saying "no it's pain, it's pain", so actually one year, if I want to have sex with her she starting to say it's pain, I tried to do like forcing her, you know.

Monique: Ok.

Jonah: The later on she end up saying, starting to talk like someone say "no if you don't want, just look for someone" I'm starting to say

Monique: Did she say this?

Jonah: Ya! Sometimes when she's cross. I am a man, I need also – then I start to think, if I find a girlfriend, then it's gonna be hard, it's gonna be problem again. What must I do? If I find someone, sex worker maybe, where you do it, and so it's it's finished about that. Then that is why, where I starting to do like that.

Jonah, very causally, tells that he tried forcing his wife to have sex with him, but in the end decided that it would be easiest to obtain sex from a sex worker. His explanation for this need for sex being “I am a man, I need”. This again reflects entrenchment of the male sex drive discourse, as well as the notion that the client is “every man”.

After reading through the narratives repeatedly it struck me that many of the married participants substantiated the notion of a husband’s entitlement to receiving sex from their wives, as well as the acceptability of patronising sex workers, by telling me stories about other *women* who condoned, supported or even suggested such behaviour. Interestingly other research has found that women's voices have been used to resist feminist constructions of social issues. For example Berns (2001) found that numerous men’s magazines actually employed female writers to write specific articles on intimate partner violence that, in opposition to feminist theorising, served to degender and neutralize the issue.

It seemed as though participants’ rationale was that if another woman condoned married men buying sex from sex workers, it must then be acceptable to do so. Participants told stories of women who were shocked to hear that they were not obtaining regular sex from their wives. For instance, in the following excerpt Jonah tells me how the sex worker was in disbelief when he told her he and his wife had not had sex for four months. This of course reinforces the notion of men’s sex right over their wives.

Jonah: Then, then, the first person [sex-worker] I meet, [s]he also ask me “are you married?” I say “yes, I am married” say “what happened?” then I starting to talk, “the problem is this and this, my wife doesn’t like to do sex with me, and this and this” oh so she is asking me also “how long now?” “no four months now, there is nothing, we just sleep” she said “no, are you sure!” “yes, I am sure, we just sleep” like that you see [laughs].

John: I had a Spanish girlfriend, not really a girlfriend, but a lovely young lady who I met. She was an absolutely gorgeous young woman, and became a good friend. And I tried to look after her as best, she had some health problems, and she said to me one time, and this is actually one of the defining moments, I explained to her about my wife. And she said “why is your wife like that, in Spain when women get to the age where women go off sex, or they get dry vagina’s, they not interested, on a Friday night they pat their husband on the bum and say ‘go down the street to the whore house’, and come back with a smile on your face. Why can’t your wife be like that?” It’s just Catholic upbringing.

In the second excerpt John tells of how a Spanish “girlfriend” (whom he also paid for sex) criticised his wife’s disapproval of his regular patronage of sex workers by telling him that in Spain, when women no longer wished to satisfy their husbands, they actually encouraged their husbands to pay women for sex. This narrative served to normalise and destigmatize the act of paying for sex. It is interesting to note that John draws on the biological basis of sexuality, suggesting that there is stage in a women’s life span where she will no longer be interested in having sex. This would then imply that it is only natural that a time would come where men would have to seek out extra-marital sex.

Finally, in the third excerpt below Keith tells me how a well known sex therapist and public figure recommended that, as a solution to the sexual problems in his marriage, he consider paying sex workers for sex.

Keith: Okay I will tell you when we first got married, to my, to my conservative wife. Um, we had problems within the first few months. I mean, was really not good, so we ended up going to family counselling, then marriage counselling and then sex counselling. And, and the lady that we went to sex counselling with is Dr Eve, you must have heard of her?...She said to me, “well why don’t you use agencies, you know, because, why you married?”

Monique: Ja.

Keith: “Service both worlds, keep the marriage together”. Okay, it didn’t quite work for me, I wouldn’t do that...But that’s also one of the reasons that’s spurred me on, to think that it’s okay. And to explore it as another way

In this narrative it is not only a woman, but a professional who is portrayed as condoning of men paying for sex. Moreover, she is depicted as rationalising and justifying his clienthood by suggesting paying for sex is a way to “service both worlds, keep the marriage together”. This notion that by paying for sex men were actually saving the marriage, was a relatively prevalent theme in the data and will be discussed next. These three examples elucidate how participants relied not only on the male sex drive discourse, but women’s acceptance of this discourse, as well as their acceptance of the male sex right discourse to justify paying for sex.

4.6.3 Saving the marriage. Many participants justified being a client by suggesting that through paying for sex they were actually saving the marriage. However, it can be suggested that participants’ “saving the marriage” narratives served more than just a justificatory purpose: Participants’ talk about their marriages were also filled with attempts at constructing themselves as the well-adjusted husband or “every man” rather than the maladjusted “peculiar man”. It

could thus be suggested that these “every man” constructions would tell us a great deal about what the idealized masculinities in our society look like, and what the characteristics of successful hegemonic masculinities are.

Literature on masculinities (e.g Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; A. Phoenix & Frosh, 2001) have suggested there is not one single hegemonic masculinity, but rather multiple dominant masculinities. However, there are some characteristics of the hegemonic man that seem to feature across many contexts. One of the most universal traits of a hegemonic man is that he is highly sexually driven, sexually skilled and that he has a variety of sexual partners (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). It can be argued that participants, simply by admitting that they paid for sex, were associating themselves with characteristics such as having a strong desire for sex and having access to a number of different sexual partners at their leisure. Another set of relevant characteristics of the hegemonic man, across many cultures in South Africa at least, is related to being a family man. The hegemonic man has sufficient financial independence to start a heterosexual family; he is the head of the household; the primary protector; and most importantly, the financial provider of his family (Boonzaier, 2005; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Barker & Ricardo, 2005). It is thus not surprising that participants’ narratives contained many accounts of their role in the family. However, this set of characteristics of the hegemonic man may not be as congruent with paying for sex as those related to sexuality. Therefore, it was interesting to explore how participants, through “saving the marriage” narratives, negotiated the relationship between their identities as clients and their role as a family man. Men suggested that if their wives were not fulfilling them sexually they had two choices, they could either, as Mark put it, tell them “listen pack your bags and sod off” or they could use sex workers and “save their marriages”. This is illustrated in Peter’s narrative below:

Peter: Now, I must think back. Probably only one thing, sexual frustration. Okay, nothing more, nothing less. I was at a stage with my marriage where I, at a stage decided listen here, she is not the most physical person. But she was a very good spouse, she’s very good to the children, etcetera. And do you need to risk a marriage, about arguing, fighting for sex the whole night?

Monique: Okay

Peter: If that one element of life is so overwhelming then surely it’s going to impact further in your life. Basically the only reason.

Monique: Okay. So you decided, basically it was just because you weren’t getting it in your marriage and you thought to look for it elsewhere?

Peter: Ja, and it's less stressful on the relationship.

Monique: Ja, so that was it...

Peter: The perception of sex, for a male and female, is different. I mean it's bound to be different. But it must be the reason why people divorce? I came to the realisation that it shouldn't be...

Peter: ...And it's totally incorrect to- Or totally correct to have those feelings of guilt. Problem is, if you have two kids and you're supporting your mother in law, I'm asking myself, which is the greater evil? Me finding another woman or doing that? So...it's not right. And unfortunately even if you go to jail people find a way to rationalise their actions. You'd be amazed at the rationalisation. I'm not saying my rationalisation of my actions is correct, but it seems to me it's a more milder way.

In the passage above Peter strategically uses his narrative to both justify paying for sex and defend and reinforce his masculinity. Simply by identifying himself as a client and by drawing on a sex drive discourse (claiming that sexual frustration drove him to buying sex) he aligns himself with the characteristics of the highly sexual hegemonic man. However, being the head of the household, a good husband, a supportive father, as well as being the financial provider of the family are important characteristics of the hegemonic man. He constructs his family and extended family as heavily financially dependent on him, and positions himself as the sole financial provider. Furthermore, by staying in the marriage and paying sex workers for sex, as opposed to divorcing his wife, not only is he "saving the marriage", he is also able to position himself, in agreement with the specifications of hegemonic masculinity, as the provider of the household. Thus Peter is able to justify paying for sex as well as construct himself as the ultimate hegemonic man who is both sexually potent as well as a man at the head of the household who supports and provides for his family.

Just as men regularly constructed themselves as the financial providers of their families there was also a tendency for men to construct themselves as good parents. Narratives of the "good father" surfaced repeatedly across interviews. In the excerpts below Nazeem and Gert both construct themselves as loving, protective "good fathers".

Gert: Ja, no I already had two kids and despite the, the relationship, the marriage that has broken down, you still love your kids and they still love you. And you're a good dad or you try to be.

Nazeem: And I make like, okay that doesn't at least affect the kids house set up.

Monique: Ja, I'm sure.

Nazeem: I always make sure that they're safe and sound asleep, then I go

It seemed that it was important for the participants to assure me (and perhaps themselves) that despite the fact that they were married men who paid sex workers to have sex with them, they were still good fathers. This need to defend their parenting then suggests that being a client of sex workers was perceived as something which potentially negated their "good" fatherhood. Participants told narratives which cast themselves in the role of the financial supporter or the good father in order to illustrate the ways in which they upheld the family unit despite paying for sex. These narratives gave participants the opportunity to simultaneously justify paying for sex and uphold their masculinity.

Men's narratives about marriage revealed a great deal about how they constructed their own sexuality and masculinity; how they constructed their wives and other women and how they understood their role as men in the family. Marriage narratives also provided insight into how men understood and negotiated the relationship between these aspects of their social identities and their paying for sex. Participants used their "saving the marriage" narrative not only to justify paying for sex, but also to reinforce their masculinity, portraying themselves as both highly sexual beings and good family men. In turn their narratives reflect the characteristics of the idealized masculinities in our society.

4.7 Paying For Sex, a Threat to Masculinity.

Thus far it is clear that participants told narratives about paying for sex which reinforced and illustrated various aspects of their (hegemonic) masculinity. A number of characteristics of the hegemonic male sexuality were clearly reflected in men's narratives of justification, particularly those drawing on a male sex drive discourse. Another attribute associated with the sexuality of the successful hegemonic male is that he is sexually adequate, desirable, and skilled (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). It has become clear, through participants' narratives that the characteristics of the hegemonic male sexuality and paying for sex seemed to work reciprocally to reinforce and justify one another: the man has strong sexual needs and therefore he pays for sex, the man pays for sex which indicates that he has strong sexual needs. However, paying for sex did not always justify and reinforce participants' sense of masculinity. The client identity was perceived as having the opposite effect for a few of the participants; it was perceived to potentially threaten their masculinity. For some, the fact that they bought sex signified their

inability to access sex from woman through normal channels and thus potentially negated their sexual skill and sexual desirability. Below Henk openly admits that he is embarrassed about the fact that he pays for sex and that he would not tell his friends about visiting agencies because he is afraid they may think he “can’t get a girl” or he “isn’t looking good enough”.

Henk: Ja we won’t say. It’s just something that almost like, it’s almost like, ay what’s wrong with you, why do you got to an agency? You know, can’t you get a girl? My friends, I won’t tell them, I’m telling you now, I won’t tell my buddies. Like, ay I went there last night.

Monique: So it’s almost like it’s something that’s, not stigmatised, but it’s like...

Henk: It’s almost, it’s not even, it’s not even privacy. You feel like almost like embarrassed. You know like, um I don’t want them to know, because I can’t get a girl now, or maybe I’m not trying hard enough, or maybe I’m not looking good enough, that type of thing, I don’t know. But, um, I won’t tell them.

It was Henk spelling out this concern so openly that lead me to the realization that this fear of seeming sexually inadequate as a function of being a client was also embedded, more covertly, in many of the other participants’ narratives. Many men defended their masculinity and their level of sexual skill through the narratives they told. They made it clear that an inability to obtain sex from “normal” women was *not* the reason they bought sex from sex workers. Many participants made fleeting statements about their success with women, like Keith, who said: “I’ve never had a problem with women or girlfriends”. Other men explicitly described examples of how they could successfully obtain sex elsewhere or elaborated on how satisfied they were within their non-paid sexual relations with women. A number of married participants, like Peter, made it clear that there were other options for obtaining sex outside of their marriages. They assured me that they did not need to rely on paying for sex, rather they chose to do so for various reasons.

Peter: Also see the other thing is there’s a lot of females working with me. I’ve transferred my secretary because my secretary just wanted to shag. I hate doing it at work because it becomes so complicated and intricate and people yap, yap, yap etcetera, etcetera. It’s very easy to get into those type of relationship and it will actually cost me less than paying sex workers but the reputation cost and the emotional costs, is, for me greater than the benefits.

Participants were particularly likely to tell narratives that affirmed their sexual skill and desirability at points in the interview where they felt their sexual skill was being questioned in some way. For example, Mark tells me of the events leading up to his first experience of paying for sex:

Mark: And ja, it took, it took me a long time to make the decision. Um, when I did make the decision to do it, the choice was immense. I didn't know who, and what, and how and how things worked I was a total novice. I have no problem with my sex life at home, we have an incredible, incredible sex life.

Monique: So it's not that?

Mark: It's not that at all. I suppose it's a want for a little bit of variety to mix things up a little bit. And um, ja so I've genuinely got no hassle with my sex life we are, in fact, ja carry on I'll, I'll give you some more details now-now [laughs].
.... We have a pretty good life, I don't do this out of like a, desperation or you know, like we don't have it. Some guys do it because they don't get it at home. That's not my, my case at all.

In talking about the events leading up to his first paid experience, Mark describes himself as being a “total novice”. Assumedly, by calling himself a “novice” (even though he was only referring to paying for sex) he felt that he had negated his level of sexual skill. He immediately rebuffs this statement by telling me about the active sex life he and his wife have. Not only does he affirm that he did not have a problem with obtaining sex by saying “I have *no* problem with my sex life at home” but by stating that they have “an incredible, incredible sex life” he implies that he is also sexually experienced and skilled. Thus Mark draws on popular constructions of male sexuality, constructing himself as highly sexually skilled and potent, to defend this instance of threatened masculinity.

It is clear that buying sex is heavily tied up in men's identity and their own construction of their sexuality and masculinity more broadly. Paying for sex has the potential to both affirm and threaten hegemonic masculinity, men's client identity has the potential to either reinforce or question their sexual skill and desirability.

Summary

This chapter has shown how narratives, jointly formulated by the participant and the interviewer, provide a context for identity construction, negotiation and management. It has explored the various strategies participants employed in order to construct, make sense of and

justify paying for sex in relation to their broader identities in society. The chapter began with a reflection on how the interview-participant relationship influenced the data to emerge out of interviews. Both myself, as the researcher, and the participants entered the research process with an agenda which was to create a certain perception of ourselves and attempted to avoid another. Just as I tried to avoid being seen as partial and judgemental during interviews, participants resisted being perceived as “dirty old men”.

The next section of the chapter explored the various discourses participants drew upon in order to best explain or justify paying for sex and to position themselves most favourably in light thereof. The discourses highlighted in this chapter were: the market related discourse; the “good client” discourse; discourses of choice and the male sex drive discourse. The chapter also provided a detailed analysis of the various ways in which participants spoke about their marriages, families and wives in relation to their client identities. Participants used their narratives on marriage and family not only to justify paying for sex, but also to reinforce their masculinity, portraying themselves as both highly sexual beings and good family men. Thus, not only did men use dominant discourses around sexuality and masculinity to explain or justify paying for sex, but they used the act of paying for sex to reinforce their masculinity.

However, this was not always true for all men, the final section of the chapter explored the ways in which participants perceived their clienthood to negate and challenge their masculinity, particularly their identities as sexually desirable men. It also discussed how they presented narratives which were informed by discourses of hegemonic masculinity, which reaffirmed or protected this threatened masculinity. Through this chapter it is clear that participants’ narratives were not merely static factual accounts of their experiences of paying for sex, rather men’s talk about buying sex was heavily tied up in their identity and the construction of their sexuality and masculinity.

Chapter Five: Narratives of Motivation

The previous chapter discussed the ways in which men constructed and managed their identities as clients in relation to other aspects of their social identities. It explored the strategies they employed in order to position themselves as acceptable and as “every man” as opposed to the “peculiar man”. This chapter will be organized according to men’s narratives about their motivations to paying for sex. The chapter will present a summary of what participants claimed to have gained from paying for sex and what they found appealing about being a client. Here the links between men’s narratives about their motivations for paying for sex and the dominant discourses of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality which informed these motivations will be highlighted.

5.1 No Strings Attached/ No Commitment

The notion that paying for sex allowed for “sex without commitment” or “no strings attached” sex arose as one of the most common allures to paying for sex in participants’ narratives. That men choose to pay women for sex because it allows them to escape certain commitments and responsibilities associated with heterosexual relationships is not a new concept in the literature on clients. Various studies have identified “sex without commitment” as a primary motivational factor for men patronising sex workers (Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997; Joseph & Black, 2012; McKeganey, 1994; Milrod & Monto, 2012; Pitts et al., 2004; Xantidis & McCabe, 2000). Almost all participants explained that they were motivated to use sex workers because it allowed them to enjoy having sex with women while being free of certain responsibilities and obligations. Sex with a sex worker was simply less complicated and, as Edwin put it, “freer and easier” than sex with other women. This “no strings attached” element of the client-sex worker relationship is depicted in the excerpts below.

Mark: I have no emotional attachment. So you know, your baggage is your baggage. Um, I leave the money on the way out and I kind of have my fun and you have to, you know deal with whatever you have to deal with yourself.

Peter: Afterwards you take her to your hotel and she stays over the night and the next morning she disappears.

Instead of having to enter into a long-term commitment with the woman after sex, both of these narratives show how paying for sex had a built-in exit mechanism for the man, where they could simply “leave the money on the way out”. After the sexual transaction is complete, there is neither an “emotional attachment” which bonds the client to the sex worker in the future, nor is he responsible for dealing with any “baggage” she may bring from her past. Rather than presenting any of these seemingly inconvenient obligations, the sex worker simply “disappears” after sex. Thus it can be said that participants found paying for sex appealing because it allowed for all of the sexual pleasure and none of the commitment and responsibility associated with heterosexual relationships. These findings are in agreement with both qualitative studies on heterosexual men’s constructions of their sexuality (Crawford et al., 1994; Gavey et al., 1999; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010) and previous research on clients (Chen, 2005, p. 14; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997). In both bodies of research men express the desire to engage in sex that is devoid of commitment.

The way in which participants constructed sex with sex workers revealed more than just the dynamics of the client-sex worker transaction. By describing what paid sex did not involve, their “no strings attached” narratives automatically offered insight into what participants believed unpaid heterosexual sex with women *did* involve. Participants said they preferred to patronize sex workers because they believed it did not have the same implications as having sex with regular women. How these “regular” women were constructed revealed something about how participants constructed and understood heterosexual sex and femininity. Participants spoke about their sexual interactions with women in a way that reflected broader discourses of femininity and depicted the accepted gender roles and stereotypes for heterosexual women in our society.

Within these traditional discourses of heterosexual female sexuality, women are positioned as being completely dependent on men for financial support; as being over-emotional; and as desperately searching for commitment and security. The traditional sexual script for female sexuality is one of passivity and vulnerability, where women are expected to be more interested in the emotional aspects of sex (Allen, 2003). The have/hold discourse suggests that securing a committed and supportive relationship with a potential husband is the primary

advantage of sex for women (Gilfoyle et al., 1992). Within the have/hold discourse men are positioned as objects, where women have to acquire or “catch” these committed husbands. Current research suggests that these traditional conceptions of femininity have followed through into contemporary constructions and every day discourses of femininity. Farvid and Braun (2006), in their analysis of popular women’s magazines, found that women were constructed as being in constant pursuit of long-term committed relationships with men.

In the current research many participants believed that women used sex to manipulate men and obtain this commitment they wanted from men. It was thus participants’ constructions of “regular” women which formed the basis of one of the most commonly mentioned motivations for patronising sex workers. Keith’s narrative below, where he explains why he prefers paying sex workers to having casual sex with women he could find on dating sites, provides a good example of the way in which heterosexual women were constructed within participants’ narratives. Here he constructs women as searching for commitment and as desperate to “belong to somebody”

Keith: Well ninety percent of women on dating sites, they’re raw out of a relationship. And they just want the next one. They just want to belong to somebody, anybody. Whether he’s suitable or not [laughing], anybody will do, as long as he’s, as long as they can hook you. And I mean, they do it with the sex... Ja and people who get into a relationship on that basis, those women are prostituting themselves. In the relationship, into a marriage, they selling themselves to a guy they’re not particularly in love with. But he’s got a house, he’s got the stuff that they need, they gonna get a life and they feel secure and they’ll sleep with him as often as he wants as long as he keeps providing.

Edwin: They need, you know, once you, you’re with them kind of thing, you belong to them and I’m not interested in that, you know.

Participants’ conceptions of regular women clearly fed into the have/hold discourse (Gilfoyle et al., 1992). They drew heavily on this discourse, also positioning themselves as objects in relation to women. Keith talks about women wanting to “hook you”, and Edwin warns that “you belong to them” after having sex with them. Being “hooked” was constructed as a dangerous and unwanted outcome of sex with women. Thus it can be seen that regular relationships and regular women were stigmatized in participants’ narratives to such an extent

that participants were motivated to pay for sex in order to escape all the responsibility, obligations and commitment attached to them.

Participants spoke very critically about women's tendency to use sex as a technique to gain commitment and security from men. Keith goes as far as suggesting that women in fact prostitute themselves into marriages or relationships with men whom they are not particularly in love with. He alleges that all women sell themselves to men by providing men with sex whenever they want it in exchange for financial security and commitment. Be it offering men sex for a set fee, or offering men sex in exchange for commitment and support, Keith's narrative suggests that all women potentially prostitute themselves to men to gain the commitment and security they allegedly seek. Interestingly the notion that all men are clients also arose repeatedly throughout participants' talk.

5.2 Cheaper than Casual Sex

The notion that "men pay anyway" was a central theme in participant's narratives. The message that women were "expensive" and that relationships were costly to men, not only in terms of time and commitment, but also in terms of financial cost ran clearly across interviews. Through Peter's narrative it can again be seen how women were constructed as being dependent on and a liability to men. Below Peter, who is married, reflects on all the costs involved in having a wife.

Peter: My views? A man pay in any case, if you're in a relationship it's the rent, it's the fuel, it's the microwave it is the, the hair, etcetera. So a man can never win out of this transaction. Hence not being the fairer sex. In my opinion, I'm helping them.

Participants constructed women's bodies, and men's access thereof, in monetary terms. By reducing all relationships and sex with women to a monetary value, paying sex workers for sex could be positioned as more of a logical and acceptable choice. Once all sex with women is reduced to a monetary value, it creates an even playing field by which paid and unpaid sex can be compared. Thus it is not surprising, as has been found in previous research (Bernstein, 2001; Chen, 2005; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997; Sanders, 2008), that one of the most common justifications of paying for sex amongst participants was that it was no different to other forms of casual sex such as "picking women up"

at a bar. Many participants motivated their preference for paid sex over other forms of casual sex by conducting a cost-benefit analysis of the two. Sex was constructed as a tangible commodity which had to be obtained from women by giving them something in exchange.

Participants spelled out the various types of “work” that men commonly had to perform in order to gain sexual access to women’s bodies. They explained that when “picking up” a woman at a bar, the man needed to invest time and effort into getting to know her; he would also have to spend a significant amount of money on drinks, dinner and entertainment. Many participants suggested that the amount of money and “work” a man spent on having casual sex with a woman surpassed what he would spend on simply paying a sex worker. Thus men were able to construct paying for sex as a logical and preferable avenue for obtaining sex from a woman. Below are two examples of participants conducting this type of cost-benefit analyses.

Monique: And why was it that you would choose that over meeting someone in a bar?

Zade: ‘Cause all I wanted to do was have sex.

Monique: Okay so it was

Zade: Pretty pointless sitting there and chatting and getting to know someone when all you want to do is like hump their bones out. It’s like [laughs] I found it like pretty pointless, in my mind. And which is obviously not what I see now.

Monique: Ja, but I mean you have different, you’re at different life stages, different points in your life.

Zade: Yes, yes, yes. And that time it was just like, okay I don’t want to waste my time. Sometimes you get lucky, sometimes you don’t get lucky. It’s like gambling or something. I was like okay cool, this way, I don’t have to do half the work and you know, sort myself out.

Mark: And um, so I got to a point where I decided listen there’s, there’s two ways to go about this. If you want to pick up decent chicks [for casual sex], you’ve got to go to a decent place and you’ve got to spend a thousand rand a night and you’ve got the chance of going home empty handed or, you know. So I thought to myself, you know what, I might as well spend that money [on a sex worker] and be sure.

Both of the narratives above illustrate how paying for sex was cheaper and less effort than trying to obtain casual sex from women. However, both narratives also reveal another prominent factor which participants often included in this cost-benefit analysis: all the work and money men invested in their endeavours to obtain sex from women was not guaranteed to translate into access to these women’s bodies. Regardless of the amount of time, effort and money a man spent on a woman, it was still a gamble, he could still go home empty handed. The

notion that sometimes men would “get lucky” and sometimes they would not revealed something about how participants positioned women within the heterosexual sex act. Participants constructed women as the gatekeepers of their own bodies, ultimately final access to their bodies could only be granted by women themselves. In agreement with these findings, many researchers have argued that normative heterosexual scripts place women in the role of “gatekeepers”, who ultimately decide whether or not a couple would have sex or not (Dworkin & O’Sullivan, 2005; Laner & Ventrone, 2000; Mooney-Somers & Ussher, 2010; O’Sullivan & Byers, 1992; Weaver & Herold, 2000). Mooney-Somers and Ussher’s (2010), in their research on heterosexual men, found that male participants spoke in detail about having to gain “access” to sex or to women’s bodies through performing tasks or giving women something material in exchange. The men in their study expressed distinctive feelings of powerlessness and frustration around the struggle to gain sexual access to their partners.

This may offer deeper insight into what one of allures to paying for sex may be for men. It has already been suggested that men may perform various kinds of work in an attempt to gain sexual access to women; however women remain gatekeepers to their bodies and the power to determine access remains in their hands. Conversely, in the client-sex worker transaction, by paying the woman a fee, the client is guaranteed access to her body. This, in turn, would diminish the feelings of uncertainty and powerlessness men have admitted to experiencing. Thus it can be said that paying for sex was not only attractive to men because it was cheaper and easier, but because it removed the woman from her power position as gatekeeper. Thus, through paying for sex, participants were able to purchase, from women, the position of power within the sexual interaction. The issue of power in the client-sex worker interaction will further be discussed in the following section.

5.3 Variety and Power

The third allure of paying for sex which arose consistently throughout participants’ narratives of motivation was “variety”. According to the participants, one of the most attractive aspects of paying for sex was the variety of women and sexual experiences it exposed them to. Paying for sex removed men, particularly married men, from their mundane sexual routines with the same (or similar) sexual partners and allowed them the excitement of having sex with a variety of women in different contexts.

Mark: I suppose it's a want for a little bit of variety to mix things up a little bit.

Zade: It's so exciting, it's so exciting when one is doing that because it's always a different person. And what you call, sorry, it's always a different person and always a different place, a different time, different everything

Henk: But the other thing that I can tell you which I do enjoy is...the different nationalities.

The idea of being able to have sex with a variety of different women seemed to resonate in a particularly strong way with participants. A number of men described the thrill of being able to have sex with a woman of a different skin colour, body type or who speaks with a different accent from that which they were accustomed to. Variety has been identified as a primary motivating factor for buying sex in previous research on clients (Gould & Fick, 2008; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Joseph & Black, 2012).

But what exactly is the meaning of "variety" in the context of paying for sex in South Africa? In a heterogeneous society like South Africa, particularly in a city like Cape Town, a melting pot of different cultures, races, traditions and religions, it may be suggested that most men would come into contact with a "variety" of women in their personal and work contexts. However, when taking a deeper look at participants' narratives, it became clear that the appeal of paying for sex had more to do with power than it did variety. Paying for sex afforded men the power to choose any women they wanted to have sex with. In most narratives about "variety" participants describe a situation where, as a client, they were able to walk into a room with a number of women, scan the room for their various options, and simply pick "from a menu" the woman of their choice. The power and "thrill" that men experienced through this aspect of paying for sex is best described by the participants themselves. The narratives below depicts the utter sense of power participants experienced as they demanded to "have a go" with the women of their choice.

Collin: ...Just for the, just for the thrill factor. Of being able to walk through into a place. Either multiple selections, or choose them from a telephone conversation, or a menu and say um, "I'll have a go with you". It sounds weird saying it but [laughs] to a rational, sane person. But I think every man will try it at some point. Or seriously consider it.

Zade: Because I just like, there's no strings attached. So it's like what am I feeling like today, it's like that. It's like who do I feel like? Do I feel like that person, do I feel like that person, like that person, do I feel like that person - it's a total, it's a mind-blast. I mean that's how life was up in Johannesburg it was just so, selfish [laughs]. Um, you know like if I go out into the world if I see someone that resembles someone I'm like oh yeah, cool then I go home I'll be thinking, okay cool "I think I'm gonna go with that one". 'Cause, that's what I feel like.

The narratives above clearly depict the experience of power that men were afforded through paying for sex. It is also clear, through participants' "variety" narratives that, while elevating themselves to the positions of power, simultaneously objectified and reduced sex workers to little more than consumable objects. There were dozens of narratives where women were literally compared to grocery products, one such example can be seen below, where Zade talks about the benefits of using sextrader.co.za, an online listing of adult services.

Zade: Like, going out there and shopping for a, for groceries for the end of the month. It's the same thing. ...Ja, it [www.sextrader.co.za] was like address and phone numbers and they're classified into areas as well. So if I'm not willing to drive that far [laughs]. In Johannesburg it was, excuse me, I'm sorry to be so blatant about everything and to sound so, you know, blasé. But it's it was about and they'll actually give you the areas so I can shop by area whichever way I was close-by to. Or if I would like be feeling for some type of person then I won't mind driving to, to wherever they're located. Um, ja. So it was literally like I would just feel for it, and I was single, it wasn't hurting anyone. I mean I thought, at the time [laughs]. In the meantime, I'm the one with that sustained the injuries [laughs].

This listing service allowed Zade to pick a "product" which is specifically tailored to his needs and preferences. It is this kind of objectification and commodification of women which forms the basis for many scholarly arguments against the sex work industry and is deemed, particularly in radical feminist literature (e.g. Jeffreys, 2009), as one of the most detrimental and damaging outcomes of the sex industry as a whole.

Men's narratives, through reducing sex workers to consumable products, describe how they enjoyed having the power to choose women from a catalogue, menu, phone call or line-up. However, many participants also found it important to tell me about how they had the right, as paying customers, to reject or send back any woman they were unhappy with, just as they would do with any other retail product.

Collin: There's gotta be something first. She's gotta be attractive to you. That's why I walked out of many, a couple of places that are like "What are you serious, I'm not gonna pay for that?"

Steven: Well that's what I feel as a customer. Obviously from an advert you can't really judge any person's character or what they look like and they say fine, come there and I feel uncomfortable then I say to her, sorry this is not what I intended to see and that's the reason and I tell her. I mean I'm not shy to tell her why I don't want to spend time with her. But that's it. I feel that if I'm paying for it then obviously, you're not going to buy something that you're not happy with.

In the narratives above Collin and Steven tell how they blatantly reject sex workers in person, Collin saying "I'm not going to pay for that" and Steven justifies sending a woman away by saying that it was obvious that, as a customer, "you're not going to buy something that you're not happy with". The narratives again reflect how, through the use of a market related discourse, men commodify and dehumanize sex workers. It seems as though both Steven and Collin had forgotten that the sex workers whom they had "ordered" were real women with real feelings instead of just consumable products.

The discussion above highlights how men were drawn to paying for sex because it offered them a certain level of power. Most men did not explicitly recognize the types of power that paying for sex afforded them, but rather understood this power in terms of constructs such as variety. However, there were some participants who explicitly acknowledged the relationship between paid sex, money and power. Some participants spoke of the thrill they experienced when they realized that money could buy them power in their sex lives.

Gert: That's why I said, that first time you bribed that traffic cop, it's a nerve wrecking experience. The second time, it's a bit easier, the third time, by the fifth time you know the guy already, pulls you off, "oh you did 185 in the 120 zone", 200 bucks, there we go. And um, then you realise that but sex can work the same, and my problem I've got at the municipality about the zoning issue can work the same. And then everything just works like that and before get, like I said, then money is the key to anything, which is very wrong, it doesn't work like that.

Drawing on Gert's analogy above, it may be suggested that, just as a man may struggle to obtain approval from the municipality for property zoning, or to evade speeding fines, so he may struggle to gain sexual access to a variety of women's bodies. Gert tells of how, after paying for

sex, he suddenly came to the realization that just as he could buy the power to be “above the law” by bribing government officials with money, so he could buy the power to gain access to a number of women’s bodies. These narratives again reflect the experience of power that men are afforded through paying women for sex. Being a client meant that they could choose whichever type of women they wanted, and if a woman did not perfectly meet their standards they had the power to reject her and demand someone else.

Although the hegemonic man, constructed as sexually desirable and assertive, is expected to have large amounts of sex with many women, this may be an unrealistic expectation for many men. Realistically, most of the men who participated in this study would not be able to replicate this sense of power in relation to women in other spheres of their lives. It is unlikely that they would be able to, in a social or work context, walk into a room and simply select the woman of their choice and then proceed to have sex with her. According to Connell (1995) many men aspire to the ideals of the powerful hegemonic man, regardless of whether they are realistically able to achieve them or not. These unrealistic expectations could potentially leave men feeling inadequate and as though their masculinity had in some way been threatened or negated. Thus participants’ narratives suggest that men are motivated to pay for sex as it affords them power to demand sexual access to the women of their choice, a luxury which may not be available to many of them in other spheres of their lives. Furthermore, it could be suggested that men may be drawn to paying for sex because it allows them to enact the role of the powerful and desirable hegemonic man. The client-sex worker transaction provides a context where men’s masculinity and sexual identity can be affirmed and reinforced. The next section further elaborates on how the client-sex worker transaction provides a context for men to enact the kind of sexuality prescribed to them under hegemonic masculinity.

5.4 Having What You Want

Another aspect of the client-sex worker relationship which appealed to participants was that it provided a context where their sexual needs and demands took centre stage.

Collin: It’s definitely never ever the same as it’s been with my wife. With that intimate connection there is, there’s something about that that you can’t replace with, with anything... because you can be rough with her [sex worker] and you can, positions change and it can happen as you want. So that’s nice, you know, it’s a place where you

can be different. In a relationship you'll be a bit more courteous; you don't have to be so courteous. That sounds, that sounds weird that you can be uncourteous and uncivil and, and...

Monique: No, it makes, no, no

Collin: But ja, you can be whatever you want. If you want different styles then you just have to say it.

Nazeem: The thing that I want that takes the right over everything else... 'Cause I mean that's what I, that's why I'm there. I'm there to fulfil my addiction. It must be satisfied.

Collin's narrative describes two types of sexual encounters - the kind he could have with his wife, and the kind he could have with sex workers. Like Collin, numerous participants felt that they were expected to be accommodating, patient and respectful towards their partners or spouses. Conversely, the client-sex worker transaction provided a space where men did not have to be concerned about respecting women's needs, feelings and wishes. Where participants felt they had to uphold the dignity of their wives or partners and treat them with respect during sex, they believed they could be "uncourteous", "uncivil" or "rough" during sex with sex workers. This can again be linked to men's tendency towards a dichotomous construction of women as either the pure Madonna figure or the whore figure (Hollway, 2001; Seal & Ehrhardt, 2003).

Paying for sex was alluring because, as Nazeem's narrative illustrates, clients did not have to be concerned or inhibited by the needs of the sex worker. Through paid sex, men could dictate, according to their own desires, the kind of sex women engaged in. They could demand sexual positions and acts that they could not ask of their partners. Paying for sex was attractive to participants because, as Collin suggests, it created a place where men could be "different" to how they were in other sexual relationships with women. It allowed for a context where they could be whatever they wanted to be. Thus the allure centred on the opportunity for men to "do" a specific kind of masculinity. It provided a space where they did not have to perform a gentle, considerate or submissive sexuality, qualities traditionally attributed to female sexuality (Allen, 2003). It provided a context where they could enact a sexuality that was rough, male-centric and dominant. Thus paying for sex clearly provided a context where men could perform the kind of sexuality characteristic of the hegemonic man. Moreover, it allowed them to do so without considering women's needs which, according to participants' narratives, hindered this kind of male sexuality.

5.5 Intimacy and Authenticity

Although having their sexual demands fulfilled emerged as a definite drawing card to paying for sex, men demanded more from the client-prostitute relationship than just sex. The desire for intimacy emerged repeatedly in participants' narratives about why they were motivated to pay for sex. Some participants suggested that it was in fact not sex, but rather a need for intimacy and being close to a woman which was their primary motivation for paying for sex. Many participants understood their need for intimacy to be connected to a lack of intimacy within their private lives. Married men spoke of how the sense of connection, romance and physical closeness between them and their wives had disappeared over time, leaving them hankering after the experience of being intimate with a woman. This is not the first research on men who by sex to identify intimacy as both a motivational factor of paying for sex as well as an expectation of the client-sex worker transaction. A number of studies on clients have reported participants' desire for intimacy and emotional connectedness within the client-sex worker interaction (Bernstein, 2001; Chen, 2005; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Jordan, 1997; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997; Sanders, 2008).

Of all the themes, constructs and issues to arise from the data, the notion of intimacy was by far the most confusing and challenging to make sense of. At a glance, participants' postulation that a desire for intimacy motivated them to patronise sex workers seemed to contradict many of their other motivational and justificatory narratives already discussed. The proposed need to experience a sense of emotional connectedness with a woman seems to contradict participants' continued use of the sex drive discourse and the notion that they were driven to pay for sex by a powerful biological need for sex. It also seems to partly oppose the "no strings attached" narratives, which suggested that men were drawn to paying for sex as it allowed them to enjoy the sex act while avoiding emotional labour and the commitment associated with it. Furthermore, intimacy lies in direct contradiction to men's narratives discussed in the section above where they described the client-sex worker transaction as a context where they could disregard women's needs and enact a dominant, self-centred kind of sexuality. As a whole this proposed need for intimacy can be seen as the antithesis of hegemonic man who, across many cultures, is constructed as a rational and unemotional being (McPhillips, Braun, & Gavey, 2001).

Throughout both the current and the previous chapters it can be seen that participants have primarily constructed their sexuality, in line with social prescriptions of the hegemonic man, as powerful, urgent and biological rather than as being based on emotion and commitment. How then does one make sense of this proposed need for intimacy and closeness when it seems to contradict participants' own construction of their identity? Hart (1994, p. 47) would suggest that "male selves are messier than many studies of 'masculinity' would like to acknowledge, as too are client selves" and thus it is not unusual for conflicting accounts to emerge out of participants' interviews. Interviews are a space for identity construction, and identities are not static, coherent and logical, but are often contradictory and are ever changing (Parker, 2005; Riessman, 2002, 2008). It may therefore be enough to simply acknowledge and accept these contradictions. However, participants' narratives do offer some insight into this conundrum:

Keith: I think lots of relationships, and I've experienced this, where you can be in a relationship with somebody, the closeness fades and there's no more caressing and, like with my wife that I've got kids with, I like to sit and watch movies at night. And I want to sit on the couch with her or below the couch and she's there. She didn't, she'd sit on the other couch.

Monique: So it sort of comes quite mechanical.

Keith: Very! You know, and I think that happens in a lot of relationships. And I think guys, as tough and as macho as they are, they actually like to be close to a woman. And it's totally false, if they pay for it and it's make believe for an hour.

Monique: So you're always aware that it's, sort of, a false sense of intimacy but it's. 'Cause it's quite interesting kind of a dynamic.

Keith: You see a lot of those girls are so good they make a guy believe, for that hour, that he is it. He is just Mr Hunk himself. And guys feel good, they get their egos stroked, they fine, you know.

Monique: Ja, so it's definitely not just about the actual sex?

Keith: It never is, I don't think. Maybe for the, here and there... But look there's probably for the majority of guys, it's not about sex, it's about getting your ego stroked. Feeling good about yourself even if you paid for it, you know.

In the first section of the excerpt above Keith describes this need for intimacy already discussed. He explains how the physical closeness and sense of connection between his wife and himself had dwindled. Keith's narrative seems to take on a confessional tone as he acknowledges that men do desire closeness and intimacy with women. At the same time he

seems to recognize that this statement potentially threatens the “tough and macho” construction of masculinity.

However, further on in the narrative Keith sheds some light on the confusing question of clients’ desire for intimacy. Keith actively acknowledges that intimacy within the client-sex worker transaction is merely a pseudo or “make believe” form of intimacy which must be purchased and is time limited. The acknowledgement of this “fake intimacy” is very much indicative of the broader pattern to emerge out of the data, whereby most participants readily acknowledged that intimacy with a sex worker was faked. This is in agreement with previous research on clients where men also admitted that the intimacy within the client-sex worker relationship was not genuine (Chen, 2005; Holzman & Pines, 1982; Sanders, 2008, p. 407). However, most participants did not appear to be particularly concerned by the idea that the intimacy in the client-sex worker transaction was not true or genuine intimacy; conversely it seemed to be quite appealing to many participants. Thus it was a fake intimacy rather than a genuine intimacy that participants sought.

Interestingly, although participants were content with the *knowledge* that the intimacy within client-sex worker transaction was faked, they did not want to *experience* it as fake. There was almost a preoccupation with the authenticity of the client-sex worker experience. Participants wanted the client-sex worker interaction to feel as “natural” or “genuine” as it possibly could. They sought an experience that closely resembled a regular heterosexual sexual interaction and expressed great distaste of client-sex worker interactions where the sex worker seemed rushed or the experience seemed contrived. I suggest that what men wanted from the client-sex worker interaction was a sense of “genuine fakeness”, or a “fake genuineness”: Although the intimacy between the client and the sex worker was fake and time-limited, it was essential that it felt as authentic as possible. This concept is illustrated appropriately in the excerpt below.

Gert: I, in my opinion was that if I’m gonna spend a thousand five hundred bucks on something it must be a very natural experience. And if you pay somebody a hundred bucks or two hundred bucks or whatever

Monique: Ja, fair enough.

Gert: Fair enough, but look I want a quality product for what I’m paying

Gert highlights the importance of “a very natural experience”. However, using market related discourse; he reduces this experience to a “quality product”, which could be bought with large amounts of money. The way he speaks about the experience could be seen as the antithesis of genuine intimacy occurring between two people.

If it was not intimacy but rather pseudo-intimacy which participants sought to gain from paying for sex, it could be suggested men were not negating their masculine identities as unemotional beings after all. In light of this pseudo-intimacy, their “no strings attached” motivation remained largely unchallenged. This characteristic of the client-sex worker relationship meant that men could enjoy all the intimacy, closeness and connection they desired, but at the same time were free of all the emotional labour, commitments and responsibilities which were tied to true intimacy and relationships. This supports Bernstein’s (2001) concept of “bounded authenticity” which suggests that paying for sex is so alluring to men because it provides them with the authenticity of a genuine relationship, but allows for boundaries which protect them from all the obligations associated with heterosexual relationships.

5.6 Mutuality and Sexual Pleasure.

It has been established that participants wanted intercourse with a sex worker to feel just like they were having sex with any regular heterosexual woman. But what exactly makes a client-sex worker relationship feel real or genuine? Interview data revealed that, for participants, the most essential condition for creating an “authentic” sexual experience was the perception of the sex worker’s enjoyment and sexual pleasure during the interaction. The client-sex worker relationship could be experienced as most genuine when it appeared to be based on mutuality and female sexual pleasure. Indeed sex workers’ enjoyment and pleasure was a pertinent topic across interviews.

There is a great deal of research which suggests that female sex workers do not gain sexual pleasure from paid interactions. However, previous qualitative studies on clients (Chen, 2005; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997) suggest that clients have a rather unrealistic understanding of sex workers’ enjoyment of sex, many claiming that sex workers experience as much pleasure as their clients. When I asked men “do you think women can experience pleasure during sex with clients?” most participants either said “no” or “sometimes”, pointing towards a slightly more realistic understanding than the clients in previous research. However, despite this

initial acknowledgement, participants' narratives were filled with both overt and subtle statements which suggested that sex workers *did* enjoy sex with clients, positioning sex workers as recipients of orgasms brought forth by clients.

Some participants, like John, were openly adamant that sex workers did gain sexual pleasure from sex with clients. Below John, who is married to an ex-sex worker, tells of how his wife claims to have experienced no sexual pleasure through paid sexual encounters with her clients whatsoever.

John: Now, my wife, who I met through this same place, always insists that women are so good at fooling guys, when the guy thinks the woman is enjoying herself, she's just a really good actress. I actually disagree with her, we have a perpetual disagreement about this [laughs] and it's something that, I wonder when you were interviewing the ladies, was that a theme with them, at all?

She's absolutely adamant that that's the case, but I know, for several reasons which we can go into if you're interested. But I know she pretends that when she was doing it, she didn't enjoy it, and I know damn well she did because she just loves sex [laughs]. So she'd be pretending to herself.

Monique: So you think that it was her pretending to herself, more than actually pretending to

John: Yea I think so, I had a girl around to the apartment last night as well, lovely little lady. Twenty four years old, South African, and once again, I mean, it's, and no one compels her to do it, and I have a really, very fixed and firm view about this, it is absolutely money driven, and I understand that, you know. Once again, I just cannot believe that the, that that little lady didn't enjoy herself, I think she did. To an extent, even though I'm a fat old man and she's a good looking woman. Because I think the sex act is an enjoyable thing anyway and I think it's hard to make up your mind that you're not going to enjoy it.

Despite this first-hand account from his wife, John outright disqualifies her statement, deeming it to be her simply "pretending to herself" not to have enjoyed sex with clients. He continues with the theme of sexual pleasure by suggesting that the 24 year old woman he had paid for sex the night before had experienced sexual pleasure from having sex with him despite him being a "fat old man" and she a young "good looking woman". Regardless of the facts he was presented with, John was adamant on construing the client-sex worker interaction as not only a place where men could receive pleasure from women, but also a place where they could *give* pleasure to women. John's narrative again reflects participants' tendency to, even in the presence of overt contradictory evidence, construct sex workers' subjective experiences in ways

that suited them best. The narrative also draws on the notion of fake genuineness or genuine fakeness described above.

Although sex workers' enjoyment of the paid sexual interaction remained a central concern throughout most men's narratives, not all narratives contained such explicit statements of women's sexual pleasure. Some participants, as elucidated in the excerpts below, did not make explicit claims about sex workers' enjoyment of sex, but rather expressed their disapproval of sex workers' failure to express pleasure during these sexual interactions.

Zade: And some people I know just enjoy it, I mean some people are just like, that's what they like. They get paid for and they like having sex so this is a bonus job. Some people, you can see they don't really wanna do it.

Monique: Is it?

Zade: That's terrible, that's not cool. Um...it's, it's actually ew [laughs]. I think, I don't know how to say it to you in that aspect there. But I think when someone doesn't want to do something and they gotta do it, it's a total turn-off for me, seriously, you don't wanna and then you just feel bad um...

Ian: The reason why I go to escort agencies or whatever is to experience a pleasurable sexual encounter with a woman. And if she's just going to lie there like some dead corpse it's just not fun [laughs].

Monique: Ja, no it's definitely not...

Ian: If she's not enjoying it then I'm not going to enjoy it so then it's just over and done with.

Be it explicit statements about sex workers' sexual pleasure, or the expression of disapproval of their aloof manner during sex, it is clear that sex workers' sexual pleasure was an issue of concern to many clients. Why, it may be asked, would men be concerned with a sex worker's sexual pleasure? In keeping with the market related analogy, one could play devil's advocate and suggest that men are unlikely to be concerned about whether or not the plumber or gardener they employ enjoys their work. Why then would it be so important that sex workers experience sexual pleasure whilst delivering a "sexual service"?

Existing research on masculinity and heterosexuality helps by shedding light on these questions in various ways. It has already been said that most participants communicated that it was important to them that women seemed to be engaging in the sexual interaction with the client out of choice, and that there was a sense of mutual pleasure and enjoyment for the duration thereof. As a starting point, it may be suggested that participants' preoccupation with sex

workers' sexual pleasure may be linked to the heterosexual discourse of reciprocity and Hollway's permissive discourse, which are based on the premise that heterosexual relationships should be egalitarian and based on mutuality (Braun, Gavey, & McPhillips, 2003; Hollway, 2001). In this case "egalitarian" implies that both women and men should orgasm during sex (Braun et al., 2003). Potts (2000) describes the 'orgasmic imperative', where the orgasm is depicted as the goal of heterosexual intercourse for both women and men. Thus the participants may have transferred the contemporary heterosexual ideal of reciprocity, which applies to "normal" heterosexual relationships, to their client-sex worker encounters, as this may have been perceived as the right, or most acceptable way for men to be "doing" heterosexual sex.

Braun et al. (2003, p. 246), in their research on heterosexual men, found that men placed importance on the female orgasm because they saw it as a signification that they were not "using" women for sex. As long as women received pleasure, the sexual act could be deemed an "equal exchange" and the contemporary heterosexual ideals of reciprocity and egalitarianism could be upheld. In light of what has been discussed thus far, it is clear that this is of relevance to the current study. Constructing women's presence and experiences in sex work in the light of choice, sexual pleasure and mutuality can be seen as a justificatory strategy, allowing participants to position themselves and their clienthood in the most favourable light. By drawing on a discourse of reciprocity and mutuality, participants were able to position themselves further away from the role of an exploitative client and closer to the role of a good, caring lover. If both the client and the sex worker could be positioned as mutually consenting and benefiting adults, then the transaction between client and sex-worker becomes a neutral and non-harmful agreement.

However, it may be suggested that the participants' preoccupation with the sex worker's orgasm may be related to more than just the discursive imperative or reciprocity and the clients' need to justify paying for sex. Gilfolyle et al. (1992) critique the reciprocal discourse, proposing that in actuality this is "pseudo reciprocal" discourse which acts to men's advantage instead of the mutual benefit of both men and women. In light of this, when returning to Zade and Ian's narratives depicted in the previous excerpt, it becomes clear that this concern with women's sexual pleasure is not simply a selfless gesture on the part of the client. Rather, the sexual pleasure of the sex worker is directly tied to the sexual pleasure of the client. Both men clearly state that women's lack of sexual pleasure functions as "total turn-off" and hinders their own

ability to enjoy the sexual encounter. Participants were concerned with the sex workers' pleasure because it was a necessary condition for their own pleasure.

This link between the sex worker and the client's pleasure is in agreement with previous research on clients (Chen, 2005; Plumridge, Chetwynd, Reed, et al., 1997). Gilfoyle et al. (1992) suggest that this emphasis on female pleasure may be less about the woman's pleasure and more about the man's ability to *produce* that pleasure. Previous research on heterosexuality has noted that pleasure and performance are often represented as intersecting components of male heterosexuality (Farvid & Braun, 2006). A key feature of the successful hegemonic man is that he is sexually desirable, experienced and, very importantly, sexually skilled (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). An analysis of current popular print media suggests that extreme emphasis is placed on male sexual skill and stamina, and is constructed as somewhat of a masculine imperative in contemporary society (Farvid & Braun, 2006). Thus the woman's orgasm is so central to male sexuality because it is seen to be indicative of man's sexual competence (Potts, 2001). In other words, the presence of the women's orgasm works to re-affirm a traditional model of masculine sexuality (Farvid & Braun, 2006).

Similarly, because sexual performance and masculinity are so closely linked to one another, sexual inadequacy may easily signify a failed masculinity, in turn seriously affecting the hegemonic man's self esteem (Farvid & Braun, 2006). Thus it may be suggested that the perceived (or proclaimed) sexual enjoyment of the sex worker has the potential to either threaten or affirm the client's masculinity. Therefore when, as in Zade and Ian's narratives above, the sex worker shows no sign of sexual pleasure, or does not communicate any interest and desire for the client (she just "lies there like some dead corpse"), by implication the client's sexual desirability and level of sexual skill may be negated. Plainly put, the client may walk away from the sexual transaction feeling as though both his desirability to women and his ability to pleasure women have been threatened. Similarly, successfully "giving" a sex worker an orgasm could be instrumental in reinforcing the client's masculinity through affirming their sexual skill. Keith's talk below reiterates the notion that clients wished to be positioned as desirable men whom sex workers *wanted* to have sex with.

Keith: I got to the point where I didn't want to have sex with anybody until she wants it with me, for whatever reason. If I paid, they needed to like me and want sex with me.

Thus it can be suggested that the client-sex worker transaction represented more than just an avenue for “relief” from participants’ sexual urges. It represented a context where they sought to gain affirmation of their masculinity, sexual skill and sexual desirability to women. It can therefore be suggested that men used sex workers’ proclaimed subjectivities to shape their own client identity and reinforce their masculinity. Discourses of mutuality and reciprocity provided men with the vocabulary they need to position themselves more favourably both as clients and as successful hegemonic men in general. It allowed for the construction of their identities as egalitarian and sexually skilled men.

The discussion around the relationship between masculinity and men’s self-esteem brings us back to Keith’s narrative discussed a few pages earlier, a section of which is repeated below.

Keith: You see a lot of those girls are so good they make a guy believe, for that hour, that he is it. He is just Mr Hunk himself. And guys feel good, they get their egos stroked, they fine, you know.

Monique: Ja, so it’s definitely not just about the actual sex?

Keith: It never is, I don’t think. Maybe for the, here and there... But look there’s probably for the majority of guys, it’s not about sex, it’s about getting your ego stroked. Feeling good about yourself even if you paid for it, you know.

Here Keith alludes to another allure of paying for sex: the client-sex worker transaction provides a context where men can have their “ego stroked”. Farvid and Braun (2006, p. 304) also noted the relationship between men’s “production” of women’s pleasure and notions of a male ego. Indeed, Keith’s statement suggests that paying for sex “does something” for the man’s sense of self and identity and alters how he feels about himself. Keith suggests that, when the experience feels authentic, paid sex allows the client to feel like “Mr Hunk Himself”.

But who is Mr Hunk? This question can be answered by drawing on the narratives that arose out of the interview data and from masculinity studies in general. Mr Hunk is highly sexual, he has the power to gain access to any woman he chooses, when he chooses; he has regular sex with a variety of woman; he is sexually dominant and the focus of sex he engages in is always on his sexual fulfilment; he is sexually skilled and can bring women to orgasm, which in turn makes him sexually desirable. Mr Hunk signifies the ultimate hegemonic man. It can be said that the client-sex worker transaction therefore provides the context for the client to fully enact the sexuality of the hegemonic man. Regardless of whether he is able to be “Mr Hunk” in

any other spheres of his life, the client-sex worker transaction provides a context where he can fulfil the expectations of what it means to be a dominant man in his society. Moreover, he is able to enact and enjoy this sexuality while escaping all the negative attributes commonly associated with heterosexual relationships in society.

Summary

This chapter has explored participants' narratives of motivation for paying for sex. Five main themes were identified: participants claimed that paying for sex allowed them to enjoy a "no strings attached" type of sex; it was cheaper than casual sex; it allowed for sexual variety; it enabled their own sexual pleasure to be the sole focus of the sexual interaction; and it catered for their need to experience intimacy and closeness with women. The final section of this chapter explored men's postulation that the sex worker's sexual pleasure was a necessary condition for their own enjoyment of the client-sex worker transaction. However, a deeper analysis of these narratives suggested that participants gained more from paying for sex than these narratives of motivation imply at face value. Not only did these narratives provide insight into participants' constructions of women, femininity, masculinity and heterosexual relationships, but also elucidated the ways in which these social constructions motivated, maintained and reinforced participants' paying for sex.

Some of the motivations present in participants' narratives revealed less about how they constructed sex workers and paid sex, and revealed more about how they constructed regular women and heterosexual sex as a whole. Indeed, this chapter repeatedly highlighted the striking connection between dominant models of femininity, masculinity and heterosexuality and participants' narratives about their motives for paying for sex. Participants' narratives suggested that they were largely drawn to paying for sex by the desire to both avoid the negative aspects associated with women and heterosexual relationships and to perform the type of male sexuality privileged by our society. The link between social constructions of gender and sexuality and men's desire to pay for sex raises greater questions around how the sex work industry may be understood in our society. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This study aimed to explore and critically analyse men's talk about buying sex from female sex workers. The results of the study suggest that the way in which men understand experience and justify paying for sex is greatly influenced by dominant discourses of gender and sexuality. Firstly, a summary of the findings will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of the methodological contributions of the study as well as the theoretical and social implications of its findings. In closing, suggestions will be put forward with regard to future research.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The findings of the study were discussed within two chapters in this report. Chapter Four identified the discourses and strategies employed by participants to explain and justify buying sex in ways which allowed them to position themselves most positively in relation to their identities as men, husbands and fathers in society. Chapter Five explored men's narratives of motivation, it looked at how they drew on dominant discourses of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality in order to talk about and experience paying for sex as a viable, attractive and even necessary option.

This thesis provided a critical analysis of the interview context, specifically the powerful dynamics of the interviewer-participant relationship. It became clear that both the participants and I entered the interviews with our own agendas and our own set of preconceived ideas and concerns. This discussion suggested that the narratives to emerge from the interview should be understood as being the result of a joint construction of meaning, by both the participant and the interviewer. It highlighted the importance of viewing the interview context as a site where the participant, as well as the researcher may create, recreate and manage their identities.

This thesis explored how particular discourses provided men with certain ways of talking about and constructing their identities as clients. Through these discourses participants could explain and justify paying for sex by defining it as neutral, natural, non-exploitative or even as something good or honourable. These explanations and justifications allowed participants to construct their client identities most favourably in relation to their social identities as men,

husbands or fathers. Four such discursive strategies employed by participants were identified. The first of these was a market-related discourse. By using popular market related language, which reduced sex work to a business transaction and the sex act to a product, clients could position themselves as nothing more than neutral customers. Secondly, participants justified paying for sex by drawing on discourses of the “good client”. Another discourse participants regularly relied on was the discourse of choice, telling stories of women’s choice to enter sex work and drawing on discourses of female empowerment to construct paying for sex favourably. Furthermore, participants relied heavily on the male sex drive discourse to explain paying for sex as something biologically driven, normal and healthy.

The thesis also explored the ways in which participants negotiated and reconciled the relationship between paying for sex and their identities as husbands and fathers. These narratives revealed less about how men constructed buying sex and more about how they constructed women and how they understood the meaning of being a heterosexual man, a husband and a father in society. Again participants relied heavily on the male sex drive discourse, as well as the sex right discourse, in these narratives. These discourses, present in men’s narratives, suggested that the hegemonic man has both an unquestionable biological need as well as a fundamental right to obtain regular sex from his wife. Many participants took it for granted that if their wives did not satisfy them sexually, it could be expected that they would seek sex elsewhere.

Participants also drew on the heterosexual discourse of the male provider and head of the household (Boonzaier, 2005; Boonzaier & de la Rey, 2004; Barker & Ricardo, 2005). In accordance with this discourse, participants positioned themselves as the sole providers of their families, who were constructed as heavily dependent on them. Their “saving the marriage” narratives suggested that if men paid sex workers, instead of leaving their wives and families to obtain sex elsewhere, they were in fact being good husbands and family men. These narratives both reinforced the notion that they were highly sexual beings and confirmed their roles as family men and financial providers of their families. Thus this thesis identified a reciprocal relationship between men paying sex workers for sex and idealized constructions of masculinity. It drew attention to the ways in which men used popular discourses of gender and sexuality to explain and justify paying for sex and how in turn this served to reinforce their identities as dominant and idealized men in society, further perpetuating these implicit discourses.

Chapter Five presented a discussion on how prominent social discourses and normative sexual scripts, reflected in participants' narratives, allowed men to talk about and experience paying for sex as a viable, beneficial and desirable option. According to participants, the first aspect that made paying for sex desirable was that it allowed for a "no strings attached" type of sex. By paying sex workers, men could enjoy sexual intercourse while avoiding the responsibilities and commitments usually associated with heterosexual relationships. These proposed "commitments" and "responsibilities" were based on popular discourses of heterosexuality such as the have/hold discourse, discourses of female sexuality and traditional female gender roles which position women as being dependent, over-emotional and as desperately searching for commitment and security from men.

The second way in which participants constructed paying for sex as beneficial was by drawing on the notion that "men pay anyway" and that paying for sex was "cheaper" than obtaining casual sex through traditional means. Here participants drew on normative sexual scripts that constructed women as gatekeepers to their bodies, to which access had to be bought or earned and could be denied at any time. Therefore, paying for sex was attractive not only as a less costly option than courting, but because the man was guaranteed access to the woman's body, thus removing her from the position of gatekeeper.

The third allure of paying for sex that arose consistently throughout participants' narratives of motivation was the "variety" of sexual experiences and women it exposed them to. However I suggested that, rather than variety, it was the power to demand sexual access to a variety of women which was alluring to participants. The study also found that paying for sex appealed to men because it allowed their own sexual needs to be positioned as central to the sexual encounter, while the sex worker's needs were shifted to the periphery.

Many participants' narratives suggested that men's decision to pay for sex was driven by a desire to experience a sense of intimacy and closeness with women. However I suggested that these narratives represented evidence of a desire for fake intimacy, rather than genuine intimacy. Participants, aware that this relationship was faked, merely wanted the client-sex worker interaction to feel as "natural" or "genuine" as possible. This provided support for Bernstein's (2001) concept of "bounded authenticity", which suggests that paying for sex is so alluring to men because it provides them with the authenticity of a genuine relationship, but allows for boundaries that protect them from all the obligations associated with heterosexual relationships.

Finally this thesis addressed the question of what allowed participants to experience the client-sex worker relationship as authentic. It was found to be the assumption of mutuality, the perception of the sex worker's enjoyment and evidence of her achieving orgasm that facilitated an authentic sexual experience for clients. It was suggested that participants were concerned with the sex workers' pleasure because it was a necessary condition for their own. This emphasis on female pleasure was less about the sex worker's pleasure and more about the man's ability to induce that pleasure. Indeed, literature on heterosexuality suggests that the woman's orgasm is so central to male sexuality because it is seen as indicative of a man's sexual competence (Potts, 2001). Thus when the sex worker appears to enjoy sex with the client, she is affirming his identity as a sexually desirable man. This once again puts the spotlight on the highly interconnected relationship between social constructions of gender, masculinity and sexuality and the meanings men attribute to paying for sex.

This thesis suggests that paying for sex was appealing to participants because it allowed them to be a certain type of man and to enact a certain type of idealised masculinity. Even though it is unlikely that most participants would be able to perform this idealised masculinity in their everyday lives, the client-sex worker relationship provided a context where men could enact this kind of masculinity successfully. As clients there were endless numbers of women who were willing to have sex with them; they had the power to pick and choose as many of these women as they liked without the risk of being rejected. Paying for sex allowed them to enact a type of sexuality that was dominant and demand sexual interaction that was centred on their own needs. They were afforded the notion of being sexually skilled and sexually desirable to women. As clients they embodied the epitome of the successful hegemonic man, they were "Mr Hunk himself".

6.2 Contributions of the Study

The next section will discuss methodological contributions of the study as well as the theoretical and social implications of its findings.

6.2.1 Methodological contributions. From a methodological point of view, I suggest that this project's most valuable contribution is the way in which it has scrutinized the significance of the interview context. Although it is contrary to popular definitions of thematic narrative analysis (e.g. Riessman, 2008), I suggest that, even when conducting a more thematic

style of narrative analysis, the context of the interview remains of utmost relevance. In the case of this project, ignoring the context from which these themes arose would have been telling only half of the story.

The interview-participant relationship is always relevant and should be considered carefully, but this type of reflexivity might be particularly significant when female researchers conduct interviews with male participants (or vice versa) on topics relating to their gender or sexuality. Considering the gap in feminist research on clients of sex workers, this might well be a relevant consideration for future research.

Reflexivity is by no means a new methodological concept. However, this project has contributed by highlighting the importance of going beyond merely including a small paragraph on these dynamics and how it may have infused the data obtained and has resulted in a discussion of these dynamics spanning across a number of pages. This research has provided tangible examples of how the interview context functions as a site where not only “facts” are collected but a context where both participant and interviewer manage their identities and aim to realise certain goals and objectives. In this paper the discussion of these dynamics spans across a number of pages in one chapter. However, the data gleaned from the interviews would have permitted an entire thesis based on the discussion of these powerful dynamics. This provides insight to the importance of considering this kind of data analysis for future researchers conducting the same or similar research. It challenges every researcher to, instead of reporting on what their participants say at face value, critically consider and report on how participants’ stories may have been influenced or shaped by these dynamics.

6.2.2 Theoretical and social implications of the research. This research project has endeavoured to contribute to the academic knowledge base of the demand side of the sex work industry. Essentially this piece of research has answered the question: What are the social and discursive structures that make paying for sex an acceptable, desirable and rewarding practice for men in our society?

The discourses participants drew on in explaining, justifying and motivating paying for sex, within the interview context, were informed by and indicative of broader discourses on gender and sexuality currently dominant in our society. By implication then, this project serves to identify the discourses that actively inform, drive and shape a part of the supply side of the sex work industry in our society. These are the discourses that should be explored, and where

necessary challenged, to form a better understanding of sex work and to address the issue within our society.

In each society there are regulatory discourses at play which both permit and restrict certain ways of being (Hall, 2001; Willig, 2001). For example, there are discourses present that increasingly allow for people to “do” homosexuality or casual sex more acceptably than in the past. Similarly, certain discursive constraints exist that ensure that “doing” incest or child abuse remain unacceptable options within our society. This thesis has identified the social discourses that give men the vocabulary to talk and think about paying for sex as something “do-able”, as something neutral, natural and acceptable. It is important that we become more cognisant of how such discourses are at work in our everyday lives in order to better understand how paying for sex is made meaning of in our society. Some of the discourses identified (such as the market related discourse and the choice discourse), when being considered in relation to their social and political implications, feed back into the original feminist debate on the nature of the sex work industry. I avoid including their social or theoretical implications in this discussion as they have been addressed at length elsewhere (see Farley, 2004, 2005; Jeffreys, 2009; Niemi, 2010; Sullivan, 1995; Vanwesenbeeck, 2001).

However, the discourse that was most powerful in providing men in this study with a vocabulary to explain and justify paying for sex was the male sex drive discourse, which fits into broader conceptions of hegemonic masculinity (Hollway, 2001). That men have an inherent biological need for sex (as well as a fundamental right to receive it from their wives) has been heavily entrenched in the minds of participants, and almost certainly in the minds of other men like them. Society accepts, as biological fact, that every man has a physiological need for regular sex. When a man possesses a low sex drive he is seen as unhealthy or abnormal, unlike women where abstinence and a lower sex drive is seen to be relatively normal.

One only needs to read lifestyle magazines or watch movies and talk shows to see how the sex drive discourse is manifest in our everyday talk and knowledge of male sexuality. This biological basis of sexuality is very seldom challenged or questioned within our society. In light of the sex drive discourse, if a man’s wife fails to meet his sexual needs, or he is unable or unwilling to satisfy these urges through casual sex, purchasing sex as a neutral product or service, becomes a logical and rational solution. Thus the sex drive discourse, in relationship

with other dominant discourses, allows paying for sex to become a largely acceptable and “do-able” act for men in our society.

This thesis has also identified the discursive forces which make paying for sex a desirable and rewarding practice for men. I argue that the way in which femininity and female sexuality, as well as masculinity and male sexuality, are portrayed in our society allows paying for sex to be experienced as a beneficial and desirable practice. Firstly, through participants’ narratives it becomes clear that everyday discourses regarding women and their sexuality serve to portray female sexuality in a derogatory or unappealing light. Participants’ narratives reflected broader social constructions of women as irrational, emotional and highly dependent on men for financial support. All too often we see television programs, movies, and read both men’s and women’s magazines where the “women want love, men want sex” construction of heterosexual relationships is reinforced (Allen, 2003). Within these discourses women are constructed as exceedingly desperate for love, commitment and security (Attwood, 2005; Farvid & Braun, 2006). I suggest that committed relationships with women are constructed, within these discourses, as the unwanted by-product of heterosexual sex for men in our society today. As a result, these negative portrayals of women as desperate and manipulative may have facilitated a demand for a type of sex where men can avoid being objects of these unwanted attributes of female sexuality. It has created a demand for the “no strings attached” type of sex which the sex work industry provides.

Secondly, this research suggests that society has created an idealized version of men and male sexuality. This type of idealized man has been described at length throughout this thesis: He is expected to be sexually virile, potent, sexually driven, highly sexually skilled, sexually dominant and experienced. The idealized man is expected to be sexually desirable to women and enjoy regular sexual conquests with different women who all find him desirable. For examples of this type of masculinity, one can view numerous current hip-hop music videos which portray images of the strong, rich and powerful man, surrounded by numerous highly sexualized women, all vying for his attention and seemingly at his disposal for sexual pleasure. Men’s lifestyle magazines such as the FHM (For Him Magazine) or the Men’s Health magazine also commonly present portrayals of the idealized, sexualized hegemonic masculinity. Within these magazines there is an obsession with quantity and variety of sexual conquests, penis size, sexual techniques,

female sexual pleasure and orgasm and libido as well as a focus on products and strategies which are designed to improve or remedy sexual “inadequacy” (Attwood, 2005; Taylor, 2005).

In this thesis I argue, as have other researchers like Connell (1995), that not all men are able to live up to this kind of sexuality in their daily lives. This in turn may leave such men feeling insipid and as though their masculinity has been challenged. It comes as no surprise that men would, in an attempt to defend their challenged masculinity, seek out avenues to fulfil this kind of socially prescribed sexuality. I argue that paid sex provides men with one context, or one identity, where they are able to successfully enact this kind of idealized sexuality. I suggest that paying for sex may be part of a broader quest for men to achieve the unachievable; it provides them with one context where they can truly feel like, identify with and be “Mr Hunk” himself.

This study has made the connection between the dominant discourses which are a part of our everyday lives and the men’s construction of paying for sex. It has illustrated how the ways in which we, as a society, commonly talk about both men and women feeds into and promotes a culture where men may understand paying for sex to be both justifiable and desirable. However, this thesis has not presented knowledge that may directly inform policy making on sex work in South Africa. It provides no concrete recommendations with regards to whether sex work should be legalized or remain criminalised; whether the sex work industry in South Africa should be curbed or whether it should be controlled. I suggest that until we begin to form a better understanding of the discursive mechanisms that allow, maintain and motivate men to buy sex from sex workers, we may not have adequate understanding to meaningfully address the sex work issue through policy. Change should not only be set in motion at a policy level, but it needs to happen at a discursive level. Thus we need to begin by challenging both the discourses that construct women negatively and the discourses that prescribe to men a largely unachievable kind masculinity.

This project does provide suggestions for making meaningful changes at social and discursive levels, accepting of course that challenging such deeply entrenched discourses does not occur over night, but should rather be considered a long term process and goal. Changing the way people think about a trait that is commonly assumed to have a biological basis will require time and intervention at micro, meso and macro levels. Perhaps a good place to begin would be with the sex education of children and adolescents, both at school and at home. These findings could inform the South African education system. For instance, advocacy could be made for the

inclusion of sex education courses that teach, instead of an essential male and female sexuality, the idea that there is a unique and varying sexuality for each person.

Moreover, the global society within which we live today provides a context where dominant discourses can be challenged with great scope and reach. Online social media, just as it is powerful in reinforcing dominant social norms, can be a powerful tool for challenging them. In addition to the traditional means of challenging the status quo, such as research, advocacy and lobbying - online social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, blogs and forums provide powerful opportunities for such discourses to be challenged, on a real-time basis as they are produced.

Of course challenging popular discourses that serve to discredit and disempower women has already been the plight of feminist movements since the late 19th century (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006). Today online networks have also increasingly been used to further the objectives of those who wish to challenge discourses that disempower women. I provide a recent South African example that illustrates the reach and scope of such online platforms: Recently two male journalists who write for the South African FHM made a string of comments on Facebook which jokingly, but explicitly, promoted both corrective rape and date rape (see Dawjee, 2013). Within a few hours of their postings a national uproar on the issue had emerged, with feminist organizations, interest groups and both men and women from the general public submitting hundreds of responses in the form of emails, tweets, Facebook comments and blog posts. Two days later the two men, who's employment at the magazine had by then been suspended, released an open public apology addressed to South Africa as a whole (see Barashenkov & Moroosi, 2013). This single incident opened up the question of rape for mass public debate and conversation and highlighted the harmful implications of such misogynistic discourses.

Just as these platforms are being used to challenge discourses that serve to disempower or degrade women, so these same platforms (as well as traditional platforms) should be used to challenge discourses that disempower certain masculinities. These online platforms should be used to challenge the discourses that ridicule and disregard men who do not conform to the idealized version of male sexuality. We need to challenge music videos that promote the portrayal of highly sexualized men who have hundreds of women swooning over them; we need to challenge discourses that suggest that all men should be ready for and want copious amounts of sex all of the time. We should challenge jokes about men "not getting it up", not "lasting long

enough” or being “too small”. We should begin to work towards a society that does not impose a single sexuality upon all of its men, but rather work towards promoting a society that appreciates the idea there is no single or essential sexuality, for neither its men nor its women.

If every organization, interest group or individual concerned with challenging these norms opened Facebook or Twitter accounts or started blogs through which they constantly delivered critical commentary on movies, press releases, news reports and magazine articles that promoted this idealized version of male sexuality we could, as a society, begin to draw attention to and eventually bring about change to these discursive imperatives for masculinity. Even by becoming a little more mindful of how our own common sense assumptions, thought patterns, words and actions serve to reinforce the expectation that that every man is or should be “Mr Hunk himself”, we can begin to disrupt these idealized prescriptions for masculinity in our society.

6.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The review of literature on sex work has highlighted the dearth of South African and international research that explores the sex work industry from the client’s perspective. Thus it is certainly necessary to conduct further qualitative research into the meaning men make of paying for sex. The limitations of this research project may inform suggestions for future research on the topic. The data for this study was collected over single hour-long interviews with participants. A future research project, whereby each participant is interviewed across a number of interview sessions, may allow for greater rapport and trust to develop between the researcher and the interviewer and this, in turn, may allow for the collection of richer data. In light of the powerful interview-participants dynamics identified and discussed in Chapter Four, it would be interesting to explore how this relationship might progress from one interview to the next and how this may consequently influence the kinds of narratives to emerge from interviews.

Moreover, the sampling strategy employed in this project excluded a specific group of men, namely those who did not have any form of access to the internet. Thus future projects that endeavour to collect the narratives of men who buy sex in different contexts in South Africa, for example men who buy sex at truck stops or in rural areas, would be invaluable in furthering the academic knowledge base on clients.

Although brief mention was made, this thesis did not explicitly explore the alternative discourses which resist dominant discourses of masculine sexuality which were present in

participants' narratives. This question is particularly essential when beginning to think about and suggest sites of resistance and opportunities for change. Thus future research is needed that endeavours not only to further explore the discourses that may reinforce a narrow hegemonic masculinity, but also explores evidence of alternative discourses present in men's narratives, which resist these kinds of discourses.

Finally, through the process of recruiting participants via online advertisements I realised that there were dozens of men who were too afraid, shy or nervous to meet with me in person, but were very eager to rather share their story with me online, by means of emailed interviews. This revealed the potential for future online research with men who pay for sex. Such interviews could be conducted either through email correspondence or by using online instant messenger applications that allow for real-time communication. This method of data collection would also allow for the implementation of online focus groups, where a number of participants are involved in an online group discussion. Online interviews would increase the reach of the research project tremendously, as the researcher would be able to conduct interviews with men from across South Africa, or even internationally, without the various constraints associated with travelling.

Moreover, through my attempts at recruiting participants from websites and forums aimed specifically at clients of the sex work industry, I became aware that these websites functioned as online communities for their members. In trying to recruit members from such sites for my project I was met with resistance and I realised that it would take time and would require the establishment of trust, before it would be possible to gain entry into these online communities. This revealed an exciting opportunity to conduct an online ethnographic study of such a community of men. This kind of study would be particularly interesting to this field of research, as membership to such communities is based purely on men's identities as clients. This again emphasises both the need and the potential scope of future research on men who buy sex.

In conclusion, this study has highlighted the entwined relationship between men paying for sex and certain dominant discourses of gender and heterosexuality. The research suggests that these discourses allow for a social context where paying for sex becomes not only justifiable, but also a desirable option for men. It has been suggested that by recognising these discourses and destabilizing the idea of a single idealised masculinity, we can begin to understand the demand side of the sex work industry in South Africa. It has also become clear

that a great deal more research on clients is necessary if we wish to gain a holistic understanding of the sex work industry in South Africa.

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Appendix: Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

1. **Invitation and Purpose**

You are invited to take part in this study which explores your experiences of paying for sex. I am a research student from the Psychology department at the University of Cape Town.

2. **Procedures**

If you decide to take part in this study I will interview you about your experiences of paying for sex. The interview should take about an hour. However, you are free to speak to me for a shorter or longer period.

Participating in this study is voluntary. You do not have to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable with answering. You are free to end the interview at any time with no penalty or any other consequences.

3. **Risks, Discomforts & Inconveniences**

- This study poses a low risk of harm to you.
- You might be inconvenienced by having to give up an hour of your time.

4. **Benefits**

This project gives you an opportunity to voice your opinions about and share your experiences around sex-work, thus raising people's awareness about a side of sex-work that they do not usually see.

5. **Privacy and Confidentiality**

Any information you share is strictly confidential. You will remain completely anonymous throughout the research process. You have the right to request that any information you have shared be removed from the study.

With your permission, interviews will be recorded using an electronic voice recorder. Only myself (the researcher) will have access to these recordings and they will be kept in a safe place.

After the interview the voice recordings will be transcribed (typed out). Your name will not appear in these transcriptions.

The information from the interviews will be used to write up a research report on people's experiences in prostitution for the University of Cape Town. Your name will not appear in this report.

I hereby consent to this interview being recorded with a voice recorder

Participant Signature

Date

I do NOT consent to this interview being recorded with a voice recorder

Participant Signature

Date

6. **Contact details**

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study please contact:

- Monique (student researcher) on 074 8499713 or uctwork@ymail.com
- Dr Floretta Boonzaier (my supervisor) at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT) 021 650 3429.
- Rosalind Adams (admin assistant for the UCT Department of Psychology) 021 650 3417

7. **Signatures**

{Subject's name}_____ has been informed of the nature and purpose of the procedures described above including any risks involved in its performance. He or she has been given time to ask any questions and these questions have been answered to the best of the investigator's ability. A signed copy of this consent form will be made available to the subject.

Investigator's Signature

Date

I have been informed about this research study and understand its purpose, possible benefits and discomforts. I agree to take part in this research as a subject. I know that I am free to withdraw this consent and quit this project at any time, and that doing so will not cause me any penalty or loss of benefits that I would otherwise be entitled to enjoy.

Subject's Signature

Date